institute of nepal and asian studies
tribhuvan university
inas

35

seminar papers in
linguistics

problems and perspectives in linguistic studies

आधुनिक (मोडर्न)

SEMINAR PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

Problems and Perspectives in Linguistic Studies

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of
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FOREWORD

The present volume embodies the results of the seminar on Linguistics held in the Institute from November 4 to November 7, 1974. It contains the papers which were presented at the seminar and the discussions that followed the reading of each paper. The seminar discussed, among other things, some pertinent and timely issues facing the development of Linguistic Studies and research in the Tribhuvan University and the need for having a clear-cut linguistic policy in the country. It is hoped that the publication of this volume will help further in promoting linguistic studies in Nepal. I wish to thank Mrs. Lindsay C. Friedman who took considerable pain in the editing of this work.

June 26, 1975.

Dr. P.R. Sharma
Dean

INTRODUCTION

A Seminar in Linguistics was held by the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies from November 4th to 7th, 1974. The reason for holding it was twofold. Firstly, it was thought desirable, if not essential, to gather, together as many as possible of those concerned with language in Nepal. There is, to start with, a small core of professional linguists, most of whom are members of Tribhuvan University, either in the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies or in language departments. In addition to this small group of linguists there are others for whose work language is important though not central. Amongst these are sociologists, educationists, government planners and policy makers from different Ministries, such as the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Panchayat and Home Affairs. There had, up to this time, been no opportunity for such people to meet together to put their problems, air their views and ask questions. This need the Seminar fulfulled and it appears to have provided a lasting link for the participants.

The second reason for holding this Seminar was to review the language situation in Nepal. The topics for the papers were selected such that they covered most areas of study relevant to the present language situation of Nepal and the Seminar culminated in a final paper and discussion the needs of Nepal in relation to linguistic work. Most of the papers were not technical or professional linguists could understand and participate.

The Seminar was privileged to have three highly distinguished linguists as guest lecturers and participants: Professor Ashok Kelkar from Poona University, Professor P.B. Pandit from Delhi University, and Dr. D.P. Pattanayak from the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. For their presence we wish to thank the Indian Social Science Research Council who sponsored them.

The Seminar was most successful, exceeding all expectations. On all four days there were over eighty participants and there were lively discussions after each paper. Even more important, discussions continued outside the Seminar room. It is hoped that the papers will be similarly interesting and stimulating to those concerned with language in Nepal who did not have the opportunity to attend the Seminar.

The discussions following each paper were recorded on tape and naturally they had to be edited for inclusion in this volume.

The editor has tried to reproduce the essence of each contribution but may inadvertently have misinterpreted certain sections. For any such misinterpretation apologies were sincerely offered.

Because of a 'technical hitch' in the recording three discussions were distorted beyond any possible use. These were the discussions following the papers "The Languages of Nepal" by Dr. S. Subba, "Transcription and Orthography" by Mr. C. Bandhu and "Sociolinguistics" by Dr. D.P. Pattanayak. With help of Dr. Subba the discussion to her paper has been largely reconstructed, and with the help of Professor Pandit the discussion following Mr. Bandhu's papers has been largely reconstructed, but the discussion following Dr. Pattanayak's paper which was mainly an account of the activities of his Institute, the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, has not been reproduced. This the editor regrets and again offers apologies mostly to the readers but also to Dr. Pattanayak and those who made contributions to the discussions.

PROGRAMME

for the
SEMINAR in Linguistics

4th November

Welcome Address	Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma, Dean, INAS.
Inauguration Address	Sri Prakash Chandra Mukhia, Hon'ble Assistant Minister of Education, Sri Surya Bahadur Sakya, Vice-Chancellor.
Linguistic Studies in Nepal	Dr. Kamal P. Malla, Department of English, Tribhuvan University.
Discussion	
Sociolinguistics and Language planning	Dr. D.P. Pattanayak, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
Discussion	

5th November

Modern Linguistics- A Historical Perspective from a South Asian Viewpoint	Dr. Ashok R. Kelkar, Poona University.
Discussion	
Linguistic Prejudice	Mrs. Lindsay Friedman, INAS, Tribhuvan University.
Discussion	
Grammars for the Lay Reader	Dr. Austin Hale, SIL/INAS, Tribhuvan University.
Discussion	

6th November

Linguistic History - Relationship in Languages	Prof. Prabodh B. Pandit, Delhi University.

Discussion	
Transcription and Orthography	Mr. C.M. Bandhu, Nepal Instruction Committee, Tribhuvan University.
Discussion	
Applied Linguistics - Towards Bilingual Educational Program for Nepal	Mr. Beth Morton, SIL/INAS, Tribhuvan University.
Discussion	
7th November	
The Languages of Nepal	Dr. Subhadra Subha, INAS, Tribhuvan University.
Discussion	
Linguistic Perspectives and Priorities in Nepal	Dr. B.M. Dahal, Nepali Instruction Committee, Tribhuvan University.
Discussion	
Closing Address	The Dean, INAS, Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma.
Vote of Thanks	Dr. Subhadra Subba, INAS.

INAUGURATION

The Seminar was formally opened by the Assistant Minister for Education, Prakash Chandra Mukhiya. In his speech, the Assistant Minister noted the urgent need for research, preservation and development of language and culture in Nepal. He emphasised that study and research on the different languages of the kingdom should be carried out systematically.

As Chairman of the Inauguration, the Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University, Surya Bahadur Shakya, also agreed that scholars should pay more attention to scientific study and research on the different languages and dialects of the country.

The Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma, welcoming participants to the Seminar, drew attention to the fact that this was the first Linguistics Seminar to be held in Nepal. He pointed out that it was, however, part of a series of Seminars on the various disciplines in which research was being carried out in the Institute. He said that the Institute had been established two years previously for the purpose of developing research-oriented studies, including linguistic studies, on Nepal and other countries of Asia.

LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN NEPAL

Kamal P Malla
Department of English
Tribhuvan University

A surgeon attached to the British Residence in Kathmandu in the 1850s remarked: "The subject of schools and colleges in Nepal may be treated as briefly as that of snakes in Ireland. There are none." I believe the surgeon was not writing figuratively. This seminar is a testimony to the fact that linguists may be a rare species in Nepal, but they are, hopefully, not as rare as snakes in Ireland. At the same time, it is reassuring to know that in the foreseeable future Nepali linguists, though few and far between, are unlikely to face extinction.

When the Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies requested me to give a paper on "Linguistic Studies in Nepal" I was at first embarrassed because there are several Nepali linguists who have been in the field longer than me. Soon it became clear to me that the Dean was actually looking for a sort of a salesman who could convince the investing agencies that linguistics is among the saleable goods in Nepal. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that one does fit into some responsible role in the promotion of linguistic studies in Nepal. What astonished me was that immediately after my return to Kathmandu in February last year, Dr Ronald Trail, ex-director of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, wanted to have an informal talk with me. In brief, Dr Trail was anxious to find out if I thought linguistics had any future in Nepal. In the last few months I have been able to gain some perspective on this question, but why Dr Trail was anxious as to the future of linguistics in Nepal, or, for that matter, why the Dean thinks that linguistics needs publicity drives is yet a bit of crystal-gazing for me.

Linguistics is one of the new social sciences taking roots in Nepal. Even in the West linguistics has just begun to enter the university syllabuses. In Britain only a handful of universities teach linguistics. Edinburgh - an acknowledged centre of linguistic studies in Britain, started teaching linguistics at the undergraduate level since 1973. In India, out of some 90 universities only 16 teach linguistics at postgraduate level. Compared with other social sciences, linguistics as an academic discipline - particularly with modern structuralist and synchronic orientation -

does not have a terribly long history. Apart from the United States and a few universities in the continental Europe linguistics has begun to explode as an academic discipline only in the 1960s. Therefore, I do not see any reason why linguistics should not be allowed a survival test in Nepal.

Nepal has a tradition of language studies going back to the first scholarly native grammar of the Nepali language published in 1912. This native tradition of language studies has left its mark on modern cultural life of Nepal in general and literary and academic life in particular. I do not intend to present a historical survey of the work done within this tradition. But here it won't certainly be out of place to trace some of the basic orientations of this tradition of language-study in Nepal. There are two broad areas which interested the Nepali scholars consciously or unconsciously who worked within this tradition, 1. Codification of the language norms by writing dictionaries, grammars, manuals of usage, and orthography; 2. History of the language, mainly its origins, antiquity, extant texts and the relationship of the language with other cognate languages. It is difficult to generalize as to the theoretical underpinning of this tradition except for the fact that the scholars working within this tradition were by and large aware of the 19th-Century tradition of comparative philology in general and the work associated with the names of Brian Hodgson and the Linguistic Survey of India. The light of post-Saussuarean linguistics had not yet penetrated into the mainstream of this tradition, much less the theoretical rigour of the post-Bloomfieldian linguistics. There is remarkably little work on phonology of any Nepali language done within this tradition. This is understandably so because very little of what had been published on Nepalese languages by Nepali scholars is descriptive in orientation, drawing upon first-hand field data. The Nepali languages which Nepali scholars investigated were mainly Nepali, Newari and a few other Tibeto-Burman languages. More often than not the corpora were not the spoken language but the literary dialect. Thus this tradition may be said to be very limited in its scope, methodology and perspective.

In fact, I am not quite sure if there was any Nepali who was formally trained, not in Old English nor in Comparative Philology, but in Linguistics proper till the late 1960s. In the 1950s and 1960s a few English teachers from Nepal went to Britain and the United States, and they were briefly exposed to linguistics with different degrees of concentration. But their impact on linguistic studies as such has been negligible. It was in the Tribhuvan University Departments of Sanskrit, Nepali, Hindi and English that some rudimentary component of Philology and Comparative Philology was started at the Masters level. Initially, some of these courses were given by the Indian Colombo Plan teachers of English and Comparative Philology. Since the syllabuses for these courses are still available in the university archives one can assess the level of linguistic knowledge and technology the graduates of these courses must have gained from Tribhuvan University courses. In the 50 marks philology component of Masters in Nepali, Sanskrit, Hindi and English, the course objective was to acquaint the student with so-called phonetic laws, changes of meaning, borrowings, and the history of the language, etc. It will, therefore, be no exaggeration to say that linguistics proper had hardly taken any roots within the university or outside it earlier than 1968-69.

It seems to me that the years 1968-69 are a landmark in the history of linguistic studies in Nepal. If by "Linguistic Studies in Nepal" we mean "linguistic studies" done in Nepal by the Nepalis (I was going to add "for the Nepalis" - but that would be unnecessary parody of Lincoln's definition of democracy), the year 1968-69 seems to have some special significance. It was in 1968 autumn that Tribhuvan University renewed the contract with the Summer Institute of Linguistics from North Dakota University, under which Dr Austin Hale, and his colleagues have been working on Nepali languages for last eight years. The presence of the SIL linguists has played no small part in the stimulation of interest in linguistics, particularly in training our Nepali personnel in field technology and in updating our acquaintance with developments in linguistic theory. When the contract was signed it was hoped that through regular seminars, workshops, fieldwork, in which for every SIL project there would be a Nepali associate from the university or elsewhere, Nepali linguists would be trained in due course so that they could take over from the SIL all sophisticated and technical aspects of linguistic studies in Nepal. I chose the years 1968-69 as a landmark also because it was in September 1969 that the British Council-recruited Professor of English, Dr Alan Davies, arrived in Kathmandu from Edinburgh to take over the Chair of English. One of the main purposes of handing over the Chair to the British professor was that he should train our Nepali teachers in the methodology of teaching English and other pedagogic problems of language teaching and expose our English teachers to linguistics aspects of language teaching. Dr Davies held three short-term courses for college teachers of English - with some five weeks of linguistics and applied linguistics. The courses were attended by some 100 lecturers in English from all over the kingdom. This was the first of its kind on any subject. Unfortunately, this has so far been also the last one with no follow-up. But the courses had stimulated considerable interest in linguistics as in the problems of language teaching. For several of us this was our first acquaintance with linguistics proper.

Compared with the situation in 1968-69, looking back in retrospect over last six years or so, one must say that there is a considerable interest in linguistics in the central campus or elsewhere among both students and the faculty. As I mentioned earlier, the arrival of the SIL and the tenure of Dr Davies have both worked as catylactic agents in stimulating serious interest in linguistic studies. The presence of the SIL on the campus has made it impossible for anyone to take an amateur or delittante interest in linguistics. The tenure of Dr Davies too had successfully driven home to English teachers the utmost relevance of linguistics to language teaching in general and English language teaching in particular. Those of us who are now teaching in the central campus of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, came to linguistics either through our contacts with the SIL or through our association with Dr Davies.

After having said all this, one must confess that the Nepali nucleus and component in the personnel taking up linguistic studies seriously is very weak - both numerically and professionally. As always there are Messrs. Churamani Bandhu and Ballav Mani Dahal from the Department of Nepali, Dr Subhadra Subba from the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, two or three Newari and Kirati experts, Mr T R Kansaker and, presumably, myself from the Department of English. From other campuses a few names such as those of Balakrishna Pokharel and Taranath Sharma could be mentioned in this context. There may be one or two Nepali teachers and students on training overseas in Britain and the United States. This is about all those who comprise the task force of linguistic studies in Nepal. What dismays me is not the scanty number of Nepali linguists who may be said to have had some form of professional qualifications. What dismays me is, in fact, our failure to train more professional linguists hitherto, and this in spite of the fact that very distinguished SIL linguists such as Dr Hale have been in the field for nearly eight years.

The SIL has contributed a great deal in erecting an infrastructure of linguistic studies in Nepal - both materially and technologically. The SIL linguists have done excellent descriptive work on twenty-four Nepali languages - mainly phonemic summaries, vocabulary lists, IBM computer concordance, and some studies on syntax. They have published a number of technical papers on Nepalese languages in learned journals in Nepal and abroad. Above all, by inviting a number of distinguished linguists such as Dr Pike and Dr Grimes to the campus the SIL has given the local linguists an excellent opportunity to update their professional abilities. It won't, therefore, be an exaggeration to say that to fortify and reinforce our interest in linguistics, both technologically and materially, we need the SIL expertise.

Yet I for one believe that, SIL or no SIL, if linguistic studies are to be promoted in Nepal, this can be done only by acquiring the technology by the Nepalese themselves. What I have so far failed to understand is that in spite of SIL's presence in Nepal for the last eight years I do not see a single full-fledged linguist who could be said to have been trained by the SIL. This is somewhat incomprehensible to me because when our university signed the 1966 contract, and renewed it in 1968, I thought the SIL was going to associate as many Nepalese as possible in as many of their field-projects as possible. I do not know what happened since because I was away for quite some time. Even one and only one Ph.D. candidate who has been working under a SIL supervisor has not been able to complete his dissertation in the last six years.

In the SIL publications and projects I notice remarkably few Nepalis associated except as informants. We have offered the whole of our country as a single big laboratory at the services of the SIL linguists. If what we have received in return so far is an offset press or a few thousand yards of polythene pipe as payment in cash or kind for the informant service, I am not particularly ecstatic. If Nepali linguists are satisfied to stand by as informants for write-ups of technical papers on Nepali languages to be published in foreign journals, to which future Nepali linguists will need to refer as authoritative work, I am sure posterity will not adore us. I, therefore, hope that both HMG and Tribhuvan University will look into the terms of the contract with SIL which has recently been extended. If we have not so far acquired any technology from the SIL we have acquired nothing from their presence for the last eight years. If we are to promote linguistic studies in Nepal we have to see to it that Nepali hands are trained before the SIL rolls up, so that the Nepali linguists could smoothly take over the excellent descriptive work started by the SIL on numerous languages of Nepal.

Before making any projection into the future and assessing various programming strategies for the development of linguistic studies in Nepal, I should like to say something and add a few more details to the picture I have so far painted. This might give us an additional perspective on the problems we are likely to face in the future. The details I wish to add pertain to four main areas of linguistic studies: 1. Teaching (as a part of regular university courses); 2. Training (for the field workers); 3. Research, and 4. Publication. To take up teaching first, as a part of graduate programme, linguistics is taught in the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Departments of English, Nepali, Sanskrit and Hindi. For example, in the Department of English, out of a total 80 credit hour graduate programme, 16 credit hours of non-elective linguistics is taught, i.e. 4 credit hours in each semester. The first semester syllabus covers: Outline of the subject, Phonetics, Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, and Semantics. The second semester syllabus includes, Introduction to Applied Linguistics, Error Analysis, Language Testing, Syllabus Writing, and Varieties of English. The third semester syllabus Concentrates on a diachronic study of the English language. Finally, in the fourth semester a detailed study of Contemporary English is taken up with the following course units: English Syntax and theories of syntax; English Phonology, Contrastive Linguistics, and Stylistics. The English syllabus may not, of course, be representative, but it gives some idea about the teaching of linguistics as a regular and formal course. Although linguistics is taught severally by all the four language departments in the Institute of Humanities we do not as yet have a separate department of linguistics.

A training in linguistics for post-MA students has been recently completed for field workers who, it is hoped, will furnish the Nepali technical personnel for the proposed long-term linguistic survey of Nepal, about which I will have something to comment later on in this talk. The four students who have recently completed the first training programme held under the auspices of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies were the graduates of English Department. Thus at present we have a system under which training in linguistics is conducted by one institute and formal teaching in linguistics of a sort is conducted by another institute. Research and publication are closely interrelated activities. They may thus be briefly reviewed. Tribhuvan University Library has a small collection of books on linguistics. The SIL Linguistics Centre too has a small collection of journals and books - mainly for reference use by its members. The British Library and the American Library too have some books on linguistics but none of these is adequate either for teaching or for training, much less for any acceptable research proposal. As I have already mentioned earlier, although there is a considerable amount of fieldwork and technical literature being published on Nepalese languages, the contribution of the Nepali scholars in both research and publication seems to be minimal. The Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies Handbook mentions three or four projects which are being undertaken by the linguistic section of the Institute on its own: 1. It is preparing an introduction to the language section of the 1971 Census Report. 2. A Sociolinguistic study of situational use of Nepali in the Maithili speaking areas of the Sagarmatha Zone. 3. The phonetics of Newari and Maithili, and a linguistic description of Magar under consideration for publication. 4. A Comprehensive glossary of the Jyapu-Newari Vocabulary and a Nepali Technical Dictionary project to be started within the next five years. As for publication outlets, apart from a special Linguistics number of the Tribhuvan University Journal, devoted to the papers of the SIL linguists, the university does not have any separate publication in linguistics so far on record. In the past seven or eight issues of the university journal and in the two issues of Contributions to Nepalese Studies one can trace about half a dozen research papers on linguistics and Nepali languages. Among others, Churamani Bandhu's paper on 'Clause Patterns in Nepali' and the papers on Newari by Thakur Lal Manandhar and Iswarananda Shresthacharya, written in collaboration with Dr Hale, seem remarkable in this context. Mr. Churamani Bandhu of the Department of Nepali and Mr. Tej Ratna Kansakar of the Department of English are working on their Ph.D. dissertations, under the supervision of Dr. Austin Hale.

I have devoted some time to the above details not because I am interested in the history of linguistic studies in Nepal, if there is such a thing, nor because I am interested in presenting a shabby picture of linguistic studies in Nepal. My interest lies in programming for the future and in devising feasible strategy for such programmes. The picture presented above clearly shows that linguistics in Nepal has been so far an ad hoc academic pursuit. In order to transform it into one of the main disciplines in the humanities, linguistics needs institutionalization into the mainstream of the formal structure of university courses. Without the unbroken input of formal university courses in linguistics both at undergraduate and postgraduate level it is highly unlikely that linguistics will gain any momentum in Nepal. The present dissociation of training for the fieldwork from teaching linguistics for a Masters degree in several departments will need to be integrated. The Institute of Humanities or the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies should conduct regular masters programme in linguistics with a co-ordinated curriculum of theory and discovery or elicitation procedures. Fieldwork under the National Development Service by linguistic students could in part be co-ordinated with the Linguistic Survey of Nepal project. For setting up a Department of Linguistics the resources of the Institute of Humanities and those of the Summer Institute of Linguistics could easily be mobilized at the initial stages. Enrolment for the Masters programme in linguistics should be decided upon on the basis of the hands needed for the fieldwork for the linguistics survey of Nepal and for teaching linguistics in various campuses at the undergraduate level in the next three to four years.

In the context of the present decision-making process in education in Nepal, it may take a great deal of salesmanship to promote the cause of linguistic studies. If some foreign agency or rich donors are willing to pour money into our linguistic research projects there is no harm even if we programme our research with a lavish orientation to the micro areas of the theory. But if we have to look up to the taxpayer in Nepal for financing linguistic research projects I am afraid the Nepali taxpayer might not be terribly keen about generative semantics or pre-lexical transformations. It seems to me that linguistic studies in Nepal, at the undergraduate and postgraduate stages, will need to have considerable macro and applied bias. It is not so much a matter of exclusion as of setting up a scale of priority. Undoubtedly at the top of all priorities should go research projects which will explore the linguistic ramifications of the problem of literacy. The national literacy rate in Nepal is 13%. Out of the 75 districts 23 have below 9% literacy rate. Even in a city like Kathmandu 68% are illiterate. Since functional literacy is so much a linguistic problem, a number of projects should take up the problem both from the point of view of the child as well as that of the adult.

The second major area where the taxpayer would not possibly, mind to pour some money into linguistic research is the communication media in general and the use of the national language in education and administration in particular. Yet another broad area which urgently needs the supporting evidence of systematic research is foreign language teaching. In developed countries like Japan teaching foreign languages has developed into a sophisticated technology with its own ramifications. The foreign language needs of Nepal and the unique problems which we seem to face need thorough investigation if we are to develop foreign language teaching activity into a factor in our national development. Finally, in some sense the most important single area where we seek insight from linguistic research is in the field of socio-cultural dynamics of our society. This can be done only by studying the unique linguistic configuration that is Nepal. In so far as language is an index to, or the code of, a speech-community's social psychology, value-system and inherited traditions - oral or codified, a thorough study of each new Nepalese language adds a new dimension to our insight into our socio-cultural dynamics. And such knowledge of Nepalese speech-communities is indispensable for mutual understanding and objective assessment of their role in the process of national integration - socially as well as psychologically.

It seems to me that the species of linguistics which is likely to flourish in Nepal is earth-bound linguistics, i.e. linguistics which is tied to our problems and needs. It is highly unlikely that at this stage we would be able to keep pace with the camp warfare going on among the linguists at the MIT or elsewhere in the

American universities. We need the tools of analysis and description and the whole range of insights which these tools can make available for linguists working on Nepalese languages. But possibly we cannot afford the luxury of supporting any research in linguistics if linguistics is to remain theoretically population-conscious and restrict itself to obscure model constructions. The teaching, training and research in linguistics in Nepal will need to have a strong applied and field bias - approaching language as a living socio-cultural reality rather than as a semiotic system of an algebric species.

Nepal provides a wonderful laboratory for the field-oriented linguist, not only because it provides the linguist with a unique configuration of languages, and language families, but also because Nepal provides the linguist with a comparatively virgin area for linguistic research. The state of our knowledge of Nepalese languages is not particularly sophisticated at present. Within a decade or two a number of minority languages of Nepal is likely to be extinct. Before this loss is suffered by us our linguists must be active in the field, describing and analysing these languages on the deathbed.

I began by making a mild claim that linguists in Nepal are not as rare as snakes in Ireland. I hope in the foreseeable future there will be many more of them and that the discipline of linguistics will continue to flower with increasing institutional support and formal academic patronage. My best wishes are for all those who, in spite of severe handicaps, are at present engaged in teaching research and fieldwork in linguistics.

DISCUSSION ON

LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN NEPAL

by

Kamal P. Malla

Contributor 1 — Mr. Richard Hugoniot

Mr. Hugoniot made it clear that one of the principal aims of SIL was to encourage Nepali linguists and to contribute to linguistic projects which would be of immediate practical use to Nepal.

Contributor 2 — Dr. B.M. Dahal

We do not want in any way to minimise the contribution of SIL and at the same time we cannot and should not expect all the linguistic work of Nepal to be done by them. It is essential for Nepali scholars themselves to undertake the many projects crying out to be undertaken. Some of these projects, such as language teaching research and socio-linguistic research, are special areas in which Nepali linguists are needed, rather than foreign linguists however well trained in their particular theory.

Contributor 3 — Mr. T.R. Kansakar

1. It is important to specify exactly what kind of collaboration and co-operation is needed. We need to specify the areas and fields of research or teaching.

2. As Dr. Malla pointed out in his paper the future of Linguistics in this country depends on the institutionalisation of linguistic work in teaching and research. It would seem, therefore, necessary that a department of linguistics is created and perhaps also a department of modern languages which would include such languages as Hindi and Nepali. In this way collaboration and co-cperation would be easier for all, including SIL.

3. It is true that descriptive linguistics is fundamental to all research and applied linguistics is very important for the country at the present time. But it is important to consider long term projects. There is a tendency for policy makers and planners to think only in short terms or immediate gain. What we need is long range planning. An example of a long term project is a Linguistic Survey which is essential in Nepal.

4. The resources of the country are not adequate to support the training of linguists, so foreign sources should be contacted.

5. There seems to be a lack of contact between policy makers in education or in research and those actually engaged in teaching and research. Something must be done about bridging the communication gap between these two sets of persons, or nothing will be achieved.

Contributor 4 — Mr. Anand Dev Bhatta

1. Before we can comment on the fulfillment of the contract of SIL we have to know the terms of their contract.

2. It is essential to have a programme, concrete and clear, and objectives for future linguistic work.

Contributor 5 — Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma - Dean, INAS

In terms of a historical perspective the linguistic sciences have been doing better in the 70's than the 50's and 60's and it is a good sign that we are demanding their development today.

I would like to say a few words about the kinds of problems I am facing as an administrator who is responsible for advancing academic programmes, including linguistic programmes. The main constraint has been manpower. When I took up my post there were no linguists available immediately in the University. The one or two trained linguists were already engaged in other departments. This links up with another problem - that the few linguistic programmes there are scattered about: In SIL, INAS and language departments. This has meant a lack of co-ordination and absence of clearly defined goals in the development of the linguistic sciences.

It is true that, in conjunction with SIL, we gave a basic linguistic training to four students but these trainees are not the high level manpower that is so much needed. I feel that it is on this high powered manpower that SIL and INAS should concentrate, so that the trainees can be adequately and properly used.

Another serious problem is the poor communication between the government and our research institute. It is extremely difficult to find out the areas or type of linguistic research the government would like us to undertake. When we put a research proposal to the government we rarely get money sanctioned for it. On the other hand the government itself has never put forward any research proposal. So we are at an impasse.

It is to be hoped that this Seminar will contribute to solving this problem in particular.

Contributor 6 Mr. D.P. Pattanayak

It might be of interest to participants to hear something of the work of my Institute, the Central Institute of Indian Languages, since some of our aims and activities may be relevant to Nepal and its language situation.

When I started I had only 20 people to work with me. Today there are about 300 and our budget for these five years is about three crores of rupees and we expect in those five years to provide jobs for 300 more linguists.

The Institute works broadly in 3 or 4 areas:

1. Socio linguistic research. After Grierson's linguistic survey of India there has been no survey in India and we feel that the next one should be more a socio-linguistic survey than that of Grierson. Presently our socio linguistic work is confined to two regions of the country: Himachal Pradesh and Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura etc. in the Eastern Border. We chose these two areas because they are the most multilingual. Such work as standardization of the languages is being done there.

2. Tribal and border languages. Out of the 1652 mother tongues about 400 are tribal languages. The message of the government, whatever kind it may be, must reach the people and this is a problem. We are trying to describe and analyse these tribal languages with a view to establishing bilateral communication between the speakers of the 15 major languages and the speakers of the 400 tribal languages. For this, either we teach a major language to the tribal language speakers, or a tribal language to the government and social workers in the area. It is essential that a linguistic study of these languages be done.

3. The search for linguistic universals. We have in mind the social integration of our country. With so many languages there is bound to be discord and rather than trying to hide the fact of the multiplicity of languages and cover up the probelms of this situation we aim instead to try to find the language universals of the Indian languages. This helps us to provide instructional materials for teaching and learning other languages. This, of course, is very relevant to Nepal. When I first came to Nepal I asked "What steps are being taken to teach Nepali to Nepalese with another mother tongue?" This task would require a great many linguistically trained people. If there was no hurry and the government was

prepared to wait 50 or 100 years for Nepali to be used adequately by all Nepalese, linguists might not be necessary. But the problem is an urgent one, hence the necessity for trained linguists to assist in rapid national integration. The search for linguistic universals is both linguistically useful and practically applicable.

4. Training. We have 5 regional centres in 5 zones of the country where secondary school teachers are trained in a language other than their mother tongue. At first our purpose was limited. In India there is a "3 language formula" - that people should study Hindi, English and their mother tongue (preferably a regional language) - and we aimed to train people to be able to teach these three languages in their own states. As demand increased we enlarged our scope. Most states in India are multilingual and they have to provide for teaching minority languages, not only regional languages, in their own states. We had to train people to teach minority languages. For intensive primary education and literacy we cannot use English, nor only Hindi, and since we require rapid results we had to use the regional languages. We have to undertake research into (a) the teaching of the mother tongue (b) the teaching of second and foreign languages and (c) material production. (covering a wide range: audio-visual aids, a film for teaching the Devanagri script, film strips, language laboratory courses for different groups, etc.).

We also advise the Union Government and State governments on questions and problems relating to language.

I hope that this institute (INAS) will be so linguistically fortified it will be the advisory institute for all language related activities to His Majesty's Government of Nepal and also the policy instrument in the larger national interest.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

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As a social scientist engaged in the study of sciences relating to language and its use in society, I am not going to offer justifications for the being of linguistics, but administer a warning about the consequences of ignoring linguistics.

Beginning from a single informant based study to socio-linguistics, from linguistic theory based on monolingualism to current sociolinguistic investigation of multilingual societies, the discipline has made a long journey in a short span of time. It has to be borne in mind that as a social group is not a mere aggregation of individuals, a multilingual society is not an aggregate of unilingual groups.

If one looks at the world map one will find that the multilingual countries are located among the developing countries. The large bulk of the world's 800 million illiterates are concentrated in this area. In the Indian subcontinent alone there are 400 million illiterates. The relationship of multilingualism, illiteracy and underdevelopment needs to be investigated and necessary remedial steps need be taken. The role of linguistics in general and sociolinguistics in particular cannot be underestimated in this regard.

Sociolinguistics, sociology of language, ethnography of communication, psycho-social context of language use, sociology and language and a host of such other terms are used by scholars to signify roughly the same area of study relating to language, its use, its users, the contexts, attitudes and their inter-relationships. All these terminologies reflect the bias of the researchers and indicate the tools and techniques used in the perception and analysis of reality relating to language use in society.

The descriptive and dynamic aspects of sociolinguistics can be viewed both from the synchronic and the diachronic points of view. Synchronically, notions like culture, society and language could be seen as hierarchical and specific reference to culture groups, social groups or linguistic groups could be considered as abstractions at different levels. Thus, as one speaks of human culture, Indian culture, Tamil culture and Toda culture, one could speak of the English language, the British English Language, the Scottish or Irish English language, so on and so forth. One could also speak of dialect and idiolect as heuristic abstractions necessary for analytical convenience. Diachronically, the development of written languages, standards and specifications, the displacement of one language by another for specific communication purposes come under the purview of sociolinguistic enquiry. Similarly, one could study language attitude in its historical perspective (sanskrut deva bhāsā jhāli tari Prakrut kāy corā pāsun ali: If Sanskrit is the language of Gods, is Prakrit the language of thieves?) or in its contemporary perspective (feeling of imposition of one language over another or feeling of superior poetic and rhythmic qualities of one's own language as distinct from the harsh and impolite language of the other etc.).

Diglossia is an attendant feature of cultures having centuries old traditions of written literature. With regional and social dialects, varieties of styles and registers, the multilingual situation is much more complex than a monolingual situation. With multiple regional standards, both spoken and written, and competing language loyalties, the problem of communication in a changing society in the modern age poses a serious challenge to the social scientist. The mass media which widens the scale of communication, concerns itself with instant communication and accelerates the process of standardisation comes into conflict with identity assertion and cultural affirmation of small groups and little cultures which is expressed through claiming independent identity for disparate mother tongues. It is therefore imperative that any one interested in planning for change takes a serious view of the need for language planning.

Both planners and social scientists erroneously consider economics to be the only discipline of policy concern among social sciences. It has to be borne in mind that planning must have the twin aims of growth promotion and environment amelioration. If emotive factors like language are permitted to be manipulated so as to vitiate the context of planning, then the resultant social tensions might frustrate both planning and implementation. Promotion of cultural universalism in a culturally pluralistic country may be interpreted as imposition of restriction on the cultural alternatives available to the community. If not properly planned, the changing group relations resulting from the allocation and appropriation of privileges by the dominant group or groups can create tension which may even destroy the socio-political fabric of the country.

Language, politics and planning are intimately connected, though planners in developing countries are seldom aware of this. In countries where languages enter into dominant minority relationship language related issues are politicised as the dominant group takes decision without reference to the interest of minority groups. First of all, under conditions of scarcity in resources the dominant group becomes reluctant to share the available economic advantages and political power with the minority groups. Secondly, there is always a tendency of the dominant group to deny equal opportunity to the minority groups which will permit them creative fulfilment. Thirdly, the majority group which considers his language as an essential marker trait not only of his group identity, but also of the national identity, expects the minority to prove their nationalism by adopting the majority language as the sole medium of communication. The politician representing the minority finds a weapon in language to fight his adversary. The communal riots in post independent Malay among the Malays and the Chinese, the Tamil-Sinhalese controversy in Sri Lanka, Hindi-Urdu-Regional Language - English controversy in India in recent memory have been triggered mainly on the issue of language use. Bangla Desh provides an excellent example of a country where resources planning resulting in regional imbalance found a rallying point around the question of language use and ultimately resulted in the creation of the new nation.

Language planning assumes greater significance in the face of language diversity. Beginning from alphabetisation of unwritten languages, standardisation of spoken and written languages developing languages as fit media of modern knowledge and communication, at all stages the linguistic approach and insight is invaluable. By establishing language universals and studying the structure, function, typology and history of languages, the linguist provides basic material for a language planner. Armed with this scientific information, the language planner can then work either for maintenance or decay of languages in a planned manner.

The three dimensions of language use - language use in education, language use in administration and language use in mass media- are of crucial importance to the multilingual developing countries of the world. Language planning or lack of it relating to these three areas may even determine whether democratic socialistic structures can be sustained in these countries. If messages of socio-economic reconstruction cannot reach the people for whom they are designed, then it is futile to expect popular participation in the process of governance of the country.

There are two broad aspects to language use in education; (a) Language instruction; and (b) Language as medium of instruction. Some of the more important questions regarding the former are of far reaching consequence. The number and choice of languages to be taught, preparation of appropriate instructional material keeping in view the contrasting mother tongues of learners, development of appropriate methodology keeping in view the process of language acquisition by children and adults, use of multi-media approach either for individualised auto-instruction or large scale formal and non-formal education, and the impact of all of these in the learners and the learning outcome prepare people for meeting challenges of life in specific ways and mould the quality of life of a people. Learning a language, learning about a language and learning through a language have distinct implications, as much as learning the mother tongue, a second language or a foreign language have distinct theoretical and methodological implications. What is most important is the understanding that teaching a language is not merely teaching context free abstract rules of grammar nor is it teaching information bearing pieces of verbal code, but teaching appropriate creative responses to the different social contexts. Thus the mother tongue, besides playing a critical role in concept formation, development of critical thinking, creativity and imparting of social values, helps in the search of self affirmation, satisfies the national urge for cultural rootedness and group identity and avoids frustration. It brings the child into harmonious relationship with his or her environment and aids smooth socialisation while maximising the learning experience. Teaching of other tongues, necessary for opening up newer windows to knowledge and providing newer insights and newer ways of looking at other people and their cultures need only be built on accepting the mother tonuge competence as the starting point. In a multilingual and multidialectal country, language planning based on the acceptance of diversity and a strategy of bilingualism at successive stages leading to balanced multilingualism is the best solution. For this sociolinguistic motivation of research and planning is an absolute necessity.

Language multiplicty and variation poses serious questions particularly in regard to adult literacy. All over the world, although there has been percentage increase in literacy, the absolute number of illiterates has grown in frightening proportions. Out of the 800 million illiterates in the world, India has almost 50% and the other developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America share the rest. In India alone there are 1652 mother tongues and there are hundreds of mother tongues in African countries. In India many prominent dialects are claiming separate language states. Under these circumstances recording and analysing these mother tongues alone present a great challenge. To develop a strategy of literacy which will take into account the immediate needs and aspirations of the people while keeping in view the long term perspective certainly needs sociolinguistic orientation on the part of all concerned.

In countries with a colonial past, indigenous languages have been used for strife and confrontation and a foreign language imposed in the name of administrative convenience. In most such cases this results in the creation of a minority elite which acts as the agent and the interpreter of the rulers and the distance between the elite and the masses continues to grow. A true domocratic socialistic politico-economic structure cannot be ushered in without popular participation in the planning and execution of socio-economic programmes. Therefore choice of language at different levels of administration has to be harmonised with choice of language in education so that the national policy objectives in this regard can be realised. Purposeless language instruction and unplanned ad hoc language use in administration could act as a counter balance to each other and frustrate both educational and national economic planning.

Language in mass media is one of the most neglected areas in most developing countries of the world. In the fast expanding mass network of communication the use of a regional or local language is mostly considered either for entertainment or for propagation of interesting local cultural events. The fact that mass media is a powerful carrier of the message of socio economic revolution is completely lost sight of. It is true that in multilingual countries the mass media is confronted with the problems of instant communication and the relatively long term problem of standardisation of languages. Under these circumstances awareness of the dimensions of language related problems in mass media programmes are to be expected. But in most countries there is little such awareness and programmes are decided from above rather than evolved on the basis of the needs and interests of the audience. As a result most of the programmes remain irrelevant to the people.

It should be clear by now that most language related activity needs a socio-linguistic motivation. In fact, sociolinguistics is not a different kind of style of linguistics. All linguistic activity in the sense of social relevance and embodying in the social matrix is sociolinguistics. Whether a linguist abstracts language from society and studies it as a system, or whether he is engaged in communication with a computer, his tools, techniques and motivations may be different and consequently his end product may focus on a specific area of the vast expanse of language related activities; however all such researchers may be said to be working roughly in the same area of study. As resources planning is based essentially on the discipline of economics, all social applicational work relating to language use is based on socio-linguistics.

Note: It is regretted that owing to a 'technical hitch' in the recording, it has not been possible to reproduce the discussion on this paper.

MODERN LINGUISTICS

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE FROM A SOUTH ASIAN VIEWPOINT

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The Organizers of this Seminar have felt, and quite rightly so, that a historical review of the study of language will serve a useful purpose in a Seminar of this kind. They have accordingly, not so rightly, entrusted the task to me.

Now, in the history of human civilization, while we find that men have wondered aloud about the fascinating magic of language, any kind of a respectable scholarly study of the subject can be traced directly or indirectly to one of the following traditions:

(1) Ancient Classical India and its derivatives, attenuations, and reinterpretations.

(2) Ancient Greece and its derivatives in Ancient Rome and Medieval and Renaissance Europe.

(3) Ancient China and its derivatives in Japan and South-East Asia.

(4) Classical Arab civilization and its derivatives in West Asia.

(5) Modern West and its derivatives in South Asia and elsewhere which, again, can be divided into two main phases:

    (a) Comparative Philology and its derivatives such as Dialectology.

    (b) Modern Linguistics in a more narrow sense.

Obviously, I cannot even hope to cover this wide field. Consistently with my own competence and the probable interests of the participants of this Seminar, I have limited my task to the following:

(1) Presenting in brief an overall framework of linguistic studies;

(2) Presenting a sketch of the origins and development of modern linguistics in the West; and finally,

(3) Presenting a sketch of linguistic studies in South Asia in recent times.

As another session of this Seminar is going to be devoted to Historical and Comparative Linguistics, I have therefore thought it best to leave out a consideration of the development in this field in the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries.

I

"Every science may be said", says William Haas (1960: 121 - 2), "to have its origin in some radical complexity; in a new sense of wonder, about something always taken as obvious - a sense of wonder which asks to be transmitted into a sense of understanding. Amid the sophisticated complications of contemporary linguistics, it is still vitally important to remain aware of the simple radical problems of the discipline."

What, then, is it that distinguishes linguistics from its sister disciplines which also study languages from their respective vantage points? What separates the linguistic study of language from what one may call the perilinguistic studies of language? The difference is simply this - that, while perilinguistic studies consider language simply as an extremely interesting case within some wider range of phenomena like human behaviour, social institutions, statistical populations, formal systems, cultural history, artistic media, or the like, linguistics takes up the scientific study of language for its own sake - of language as an institutionalized mode of human communication, as a way of connecting spoken and written signals and their ultimate meanings. Perhaps I can best present this in a question and answer form.

Question: How are spoken and written signals connected with their ultimate meanings?

Answer: Linguistics: The connection is mediated through linguistic symbols. Linguistic signals of speech and writing signal but do not signify. Linguistic symbols signify but do not signal. An integrated linguistic act makes use of both signals and symbols in the context of situation involving a sender and at least one receiver - his addressee.

Sub-Question 1: How does this connection succeed? How do we succeed in understanding one another's speech? How do we manage to say and grasp an endless succession of new utterances with the help of a limited stock of resources? What is it that we 'know' when we are said to 'know' a language well enough to be able to use it?

Answer 1: Analytic linguistics: We choose our way through a maze that proceeds from the more general to the more specific patterns. The patterns constitute a system of rules that enable us to think of any one of the whole body of usable texts as a configuration of the elementary items - the elementary signals and symbols. A linguistic act turns a usable text into a used one by matching it with a situation.

Sub-Question 2: Why do we fail when we do fail to understand one another's speech? How does one make sense of this irrational babel of languages?

Answer 2: Comparative linguistics: We begin by comparing languages - more specifically, comparing rules, usable texts, and items. Our aim is to find out either how languages come to be what they are or whether there is the same old bag of tricks that each language draws upon.

Sub-Question 2:1 How does a language - items, rules, and all reproduce itself from one population of users to another population of users - especially the cultural descendents?

Answer 2:1 Historical Linguistics: The answer can be sought in three stages. First, we seek out historical correspondences between items and rules of one language and those of another. The correspondences represent either lines of historical descent or lines of historical cognacy or lines of historical influence that cross the others. This is rather like the zoologist identifying animal foreleg, bird wing, and human hand in spite of functional and formal differences or the culture historian detecting Buddhist or Greek influence in a Hindu custom. Secondly, we bring out how the descent is characterized by stability, innovation, and diffusion; how the cognacy yields a language family of divergent members (the Dravidian family for instance); and how persistent influence yields a language zone of convergent members (the Himalayan Zone for instance). Finally, we range language families and zones on the one hand and the populations of language users on the other hand and link these historically. This reveals a changing network of language maintenance, language contact, and language displacement. Languages seldom die because the users die out; more commonly they are displaced by competing languages, or split into divergent descendant languages, or change themselves beyond recognition.

Sub-Question 2:2 How does a text in one language reproduce itself in another? How do items and rules match each other across languages?

Answer 2:2 Correlative Linguistics: We seek out functional correlations between items and rules from one language and those of another without regard to history. We can establish translation rules in grammar and vocabulary and transrendition rules in phonology (between English r and l and Chinese l for instance). This will reveal language universals and language types. We can even compare lines of descent and lines of influence. This will reveal universal and typical pattern of historical change. Correlative linguistics binds language analyses and language histories into a general theory of language.

While Western linguistics of the 18th and the 19th centuries was mainly concerned with Sub-Question 2:1, the linguistics of the 20th century is mainly concerned with tackling Sub-Question 1 and reconsidering the other sub-questions in the light of the answers so revealed. It is perhaps needless to say that there need be no conflict of interest between historical linguistics and analytic linguistics. The two supplement and even complement each other. Correlative linguistics is only now coming into its own - after a lull that separates today's inquiries from the abortive speculations about universal grammars, language types, and progress in language. This is natural, since correlative linguistics can only stand on the shoulders of the other two.

II

What, then, was responsible for the shift of perspective that took place in the closing years of the 19th century and the opening years of the 20th century? This was the shift from Hermann Paul's conception of linguistics as essentially a historical discipline to the present insistence that linguistic analysis can alone provide the corner stone of linguistics - sound history presupposes sound analysis. What stands in between is Ferdinand de Saussure. The Saussure who in his early study of Indo-European vowel coefficients brought off a signal triumph of the best historical methods of his day was the same Saussure who went on to ask the disturbing question - namely what after all is the basic question that is the unique privilege of linguistics to attempt.

But then one must not exaggerate the break - after all, there is a continuity between early and late Saussure. Historical linguistics graduated from its earlier speculative and anecdotal stage, when consonants counted for little and vowels for nothing in etymology-hunting for isolated words, to the mature triumphs of sober professionalism based on the insight that it is sound systems that change, not sounds; grammatical systems that change, not this or that form. It was only a logical step from the systematic nature of language change to the systematic nature of language itself. We owe it to Saussure that he took that step and consolidated a number of stray departures made by different scholars into a whole new perspective.

Saussure came at a time when the interest had definitely shifted from the prestigious but dead classical languages to the modern languages and even their folk dialects; it had also broadened beyond the familiar Indo-European and Semitic languages to take note of the bewilderingly different systems of 'exotic' languages like Chinese or the native unwritten languages of the Americas, Africa, and northern Asia. The Bohtlingk who made the exciting discovery of the Paninian approach - at once rigorous and flexible - was also the Bohtlingk who applied it with success to a Siberian language. The phoneticians with their pronunciation drills, quaint alphabets, and strange contraptions were already on the scene. Professor Higgins, alias Henry Sweet the Grammarian of spoken English, was already inspiring Daniel Jones and others. The German physicist Franz Boas had migrated to America and to the ethnography of peoples and their languages - bringing to the new discipline the same objectivity, the same refusal to speculate and wander from the goal that he had imbibed as a natural scientist.

What, then, were the dominant features of this new perspective on language analysis and language history? One, there was a clear separation between the analysis of a given form of speech at a given place and time on the one hand and the tracing of historical relationships on the other hand. After all, a speaker speaks in order to be understood by his neighbours and contemporaries. And these listeners certainly do not draw upon any knowledge of the history and the geography of that language - indeed, they may not have any such knowledge. All the knowledge that they need of the regularities of that form of speech must be sought entirely within that speech. This is the principle of immanence demanding the intrinsic study of a language. Later, this principle took on a rather extreme form of self-denial. Granting that linguistic symbols and rules mediate between spoken noises and written shapes and contextual meanings in a behavioural situation, the idea was to concentrate one's gaze on the connection to the exclusion of a consideration of meanings (as with Zellig Harris's classic, *Methods in structural linguistics*) or indeed of both the 'substances' (sounds and meanings) (as with the Danish one-man school, Hjelmslev's Glossematics).

Two, the principle of recurrent structure and function. It was seen that there was little point in contemplating single utterances or single pieces of utterance. Rather, we must trace how a given piece recurs in varying wholes performing certain function or functions. And we must compare the given utterance with others that resemble it in part but also differ from it in part. These collations reveal recurrent structures. The parts function within the whole. The whole structures the parts. To take a familiar example, it is not enough to take delight in detecting, with the phonetician's trained ear, that there are two p-sounds in English speech - an aspirated one in the item *peach* and an unaspirated one in the item *speech*. The point rather is to see that the two sounds function alike - they never compete, but rather complement. One can drive oneself crazy in tracing the apparently multifarious uses of the English article *a* or *the*. The pattern begins to jump to the eyes, as the French say, when one sees that *there is a peach in the fridge* matches *there are peaches in the fridge* and *there is milk in the fridge* (in short there is a zero indefinite article), and that *the John we met yesterday* and *John* match respectively *the boy we met yesterday* and *the boy* (there is a zero definite article too). And so on. Even meaning, that enfant terrible of human sciences, begins to yield its secrets. Consider the following pairs of paraphrases:

(1) (a) I require you to read this book.
(b) I don't permit you not to read this book.

(2) (a) I permit you to read this book.
(b) I don't require you not to read this book.

(3) (a) You must read this book.
(b) You can't not read this book.

(4) (a) You may read this book.
(b) You needn't not read this book.

(5) (a) I hope it will rain.
(b) I don't fear it won't rain.

(6) (a) I fear it will rain.
(b) I can't hope it won't rain.

The new tool is effective at the levels of phonology, grammar, as well as semantics.

Last but not least, Saussure took out language from the library and placed it where it belongs - in the social traffic. Language may be a system; it may be, up to a point, a self-contained system; but it is also a social institution, a system that is sustained and realized in social behaviour. It is this third principle of the social matrix of language that corrects the excesses of the principle of immanence. The recent emphasis on sociolinguistic studies is simply a reassertion of the social context coupled with an attempt to detect patterns that govern who says what to whom in what manner under what circumstances.

This new perspective based on the principles of immanence, of functional structures, and of social relevance that launched modern linguistics on the formalist path is actually a part of a larger intellectual movement of the Western World, even as the historical linguistics of the previous century picked up the evolutionary modes of thought of the day. (In point of fact the biologists were inspired by the linguists).

The ordered universe of the European Enlightenment culminated in the Kantian Synthesis. But this seemed to leave out something raw-existence under the surface of things. Darwin, Marx, Freud, and the "Golden Bough" anthropologists hammered away at the edifice - again and again, the tidy civilized routine was sought to be explained in terms of inner necessities of the biology of the species, of the production relations, of the biology of the family, of the primitive Psyche. The turn of the century saw the slow building up of the next movement - a movement away from reduction, from the desire to get at the thing in itself, from large generalizations as well as meticulous detail. It was a movement based on the supposition that, in understanding the human world, by remaining more modest we can become more ambitious. Relations were seen to be more important than the entities. Instead of putting all one's eggs in one basket - evolution, economic necessity, libido, or whatever - thinkers preferred to construct tight little systems so that the toppling of one does not topple the whole lot. What survived from the nineteenth century sense of history was the sense of the connectedness of things. "Only connect" said E.M. Forster; this could very well be the motto of modern linguistics, modern economics, modern psychology, and so forth.

The subsequent history of linguistics can in a way be seen as a playing out of these principles. Boas's work was carried on by Sapir. Bloomfield linked up this line of development with the best in the 19th century historical perspective. Saussure's immediate disciples unfortunately occupied themselves more with writing exegesis on Saussure than with language - more importantly, Saussure influenced Meillet in France, inspired Hjelmslev in Denmark, and the Russians Trubetzkoy, Jakobson, Shcherba, and Polivanov, the first two of whom moved to Europe to found the Prague School. Britain came rather late out of philology and into linguistics. Firth, who led this movement, counted Saussure and Henry Sweet among his mentors. Sapir and Bloomfield in their characteristically different styles of thinking nurtured a whole generation of American structuralists - Harris, Bloch, Hockett, Trager, and Pike to name only a few. Enter Chomsky.

Enter Chomsky and exeunt omnes? Hardly, though that's the scenario according to some of his early disciples. But there is no denying that Chomsky introduced something entirely new, though I must hasten to add that not all that Chomsky espoused with vigour is all that new. To begin with the continuities, the following received a fresh emphasis from Chomsky:

(a) The linguist begins by observing language behaviour - as yielding a variety of texts. But he cannot stay there: he has to edit the texts of the rough edges and to extrapolate from them. After all, language spins out an endless number of texts out of a limited number of items. What one gives an account of is not the texts but the spinning out.

(b) What the linguist studies is not language use, not performance, not even competence, but the content, the 'what' of the body of intuitions that constitute the abstract system.

(c) While every attempt should be made to seek objective evidence for the intuitions and to make one's presentation as explicit and testable as possible, what ultimately matters is not a discovery procedure but an evaluation procedure, not a mere fit with the data but explanatory power, not a set of definitions (for there will always be primitive, undefined terms) but a metagrammar that specifies the form that an acceptable grammar must assume.

But that is not all. We must credit Chomsky with some major innovations.

(a) To begin with, he brought home to the linguists that what one says is not the only thing that matters, what one refuses to say or what one says about what one says (for instance, A peach is in the fridge is less acceptable than There is a peach in the fridge) is as much a part of the data that supports the theory and stands explained by it.

(b) Utterances do not signal all of their underlying structure; accents, intonations, and breaks give some clues here and there; but grammatical ambiguity and paraphrase are far more widespread than linguists once allowed for.

(c) A sentence may stand structured at more than one level. "He wants to go" is quite like "He happens to go" at one level but more like "He wants himself to go" or "He stops going" at another level. "He condescends to go" is more like "He condescends to going" than it is like either "He wants to go" or "He happens to go". It makes perfectly good sense to think of "He condescends to to-go" as a way station between "He condescends to for-himself-to-go" and "He condescends to go."

(d) Finally, the concern for immanence, for studying a language in its own terms mustn't blind us to the fact that, in spite of the large variety of language surfaces, and the undeniable difficulty of translation and transrendition, we find the same sort of categories, nouns, verbs, vowels, consonants, and the like useful in describing different languages. That languages translate each other at all is the more interesting and important fact for the linguist, just as that languages can never fully translate each other is the more important fact for the literary critic. The search for language universals is once again on after a long period of cultivated distrust.

What is of more doubtful value is Chomsky's further attempt to account for the language universals in terms of a psychology of innate ideas. What is being offered as an explanation of the problematic fact suspiciously looks like its restatement. In any case there is no reason why linguists cannot go about their business without looking over their shoulders to see whether the psychologists are following them.

III

The exhilarating and the depressing fact for the South Asian linguist is that many of the concerns and excitements of modern linguistics have been anticipated in ancient India - under vyakarana, siksa, nyaya (especially sabdabodha), and sahityasastra. Because we, the unworthy descendents, have shamefully neglected the continued study of this fascinating subject - we either copy the west or, worse, have kept copying ourselves.

The great divide between ancient and modern times in this field (as in many others) is of course the coming of scholarly contact with the West. The first such contact took the shape of the Western antiquarians seeking the help of a Hindu pandit or a

Muslim maulavi in exploring the rich treasures of traditional learning. This remained (and unfortunately still remains) an unequal and therefore limited encounter. But the antiquarian bias thus given to language studies in modern India is still with us.

We have to wait for the first university-trained generation of Indian scholars to come up and play their part in the deliberations of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay and receive their training in the universities of Germany, England, and France. Indian antiquary was founded in Bombay in 1872 as "a journal of oriental research in archaelogy, epigraphy, ethnology, geography, history, folklore, languages, literature, numismatics, philosophy, religion &c. &c." Linguistic studies - or philological studies as they were then called - were to remain so tucked away in Indology throughout the first period (1877-1919) of South Asian linguistics, which opens with the inauguration of the Wilson Philological Lecture series at the University of Bombay by the Indo-Aryanist R.G. Bhandarkar, the Indian co-founder with John Beames, A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, and Bishop Robert Caldwell of the modern study of South Asian languages. Although there were Indian Sanskritists in the modern sense before him -Ram Mohan Roy, the father of modern Indian Enlightenment, for example, if no other - Bhandarkar was the first Indian to study modern philology. The complexion of linguistic studies was decidedly historical; the focus was on phonology and morphology; the horizon was exclusively Indo-European, if not Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-Aryan, if not limited to Sanskrit. This state of affairs was to continue more or less unchanged in the next period also; Sukthankar (1941: 598) had good cause to animadvert on his generation which was "so conservative - and I may even say, intellectually so inert and slothful - that it never occurs to any one of us to study any language outside our special, hallowed system of languages." Hindus would have no interest ordinarily in Arabic and Persian; Muslims in Sanskrit; North Indians in Dravidian; non-Parsis in Old and Middle Iranian. The so-called adivasi languages would be left to missionaries and European officers; interest in languages outside South Asia even in Greek and Latin and Tibetan and Chinese would be minimal.

The next period (1919-54), which may be conveniently dated from the publication of Jules Bloch's La Formation de la langue marathe, shows improvement in one important respect. The rather woolly, vaguely romantic synthesis represented by F. Max Muller's Lectures on the science of language (1862-66), so pleasing to the new-found Indian national consciousness in its idolization of Sanskrit, finally lost its grip. The Junggrammatikers' revolution finally caught up with South Asian linguistics. Around 1919, a number of things happened. The University of Calcutta founded a chair for comparative philology in 1913; I.J.S. Taraporewala was the first Indian to be appointed to it (in 1917). In 1921 the University of London awarded a young Indian, Suniti Kumar Chatterji; a D. Litt. for his work on The Origin and development of the Bengali language done at the newly founded school of Oriental Studies. Chatterji held the Calcutta professorship from 1922 to 1952 and put India on the international map of linguistics. His thesis proved to be a model for many other Indian linguists to follow. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was founded at Poona in 1917 and was the venue in 1919 of the first Oriental Conference. P.D. Gune's Introduction to comparative philology was first published in 1918 and was to be the staple English reading of generations of young Indian philologists along with A.C. Woolner's Introduction to Prakrit (1917), Otto Jespersen's Language (1922), Joseph Vendryes's Le Language (1921, English translation 1931) and I.J.S. Taraporewala's Elements of the science of language (1931). Jules Bloch, L.P. Tessitori, R.L. Turner in the West and Chatterji, Siddeshwar Varma, Baburam Saksena, Dhirendra Varma, L.V. Ramaswamy Aiyar in India represent the next generation in South Asian linguistics. Sir George Abraham Grierson - representing a fine tradition of administrators turned scholars - completed his monumental linguistic survey of India (1903-28) in this period with the assistance of Sten Konow. It began to show its impact - the teeming non-literary dialects of "cultivated languages" and the "uncultivated languages" finally came into their own. The Reverand T. Grahame Bailey and Chatterji introduced the International Phonetic Alphabet to the philologist (respectively in A Panjabi phonetic reader 1914; and in A Brief sketch of Bengali phonetics 1921). Finally, we must note that the accentuating of a trend that was already present in the first period and even earlier. The rise of modern literatures in the regional languages in the 19th century, the standardization of a new prose medium (the ancient literatures being predominantly in verse), the practical needs of the European officers and the missionaries, the growing importance of the regional languages in the school and university systems, and the growth of regional consciousness - all of these converged to make the need felt for standard grammars and dictionaries. These were necessarily bilingual at first (grammars in English, the dictionary glossed in English); later grammars written in the respective languages and still later unilingual dictionaries were produced by Indians for Indians. The grammars and the dictionaries remained on the whole innocent of linguistics of any brand till the next period. The dates of these broadly reflect the uneven time-spread of the British conquest, of regional cultural developments, and of the weaning away from English. (The dates of the influential textbooks on linguistics in the regional languages may also be compared with these).

The holding, in 1954, of the first separate meeting of the Linguistic Society of India (found in 1928 at the 5th Indian Oriental Conference at Lahore) marks the beginning of the contemporary phase in South Asian linguistics. The coming of independence to India in 1947 transformed the very complexion of scholarly contact between Indians and the rest of the world. The relations could grow on a more healthy footing and could be rid of inhibitions on either side. The Westerner, for example, found a new respect for South Asian scholarship free from either condescension or well-meaning patronization. The Indian scholar on his part feels less the need of false patriotic pride and found it easier to combine self-respect and true scholarly humility. He is also realizing that English is not the only window on the outside world and that England, Germany, France are not the only scholarly communities in the world. The 1953 conference of linguists and Indian educationists presided over by Sir Ralph Turner at Deccan College, Poona expressed the need for an intensive training program in India for young linguists who could then take up a fresh linguistic survey of the country based on first-hand field study. The Language Project (1954-59) at Deccan College made this desideratum a reality thanks to a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, New York; since 1960, the Summer Schools of Linguistics have continued under other auspices. Indian linguistics was finally ready to catch up with the Saussure - Sapir - Bloomfield revolution in linguistics. The newly-founded Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan under the energetic stewardship of Anwar S. Dil held the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists at Lahore in 1962. Sri Lanka is feeling the impact of the new linguistics. The newly-founded Tribhuvan University at Kathmandu, Nepal, has provision for Indology and linguistics. Though universities in this area have been accepting dissertations on linguistic subjects for a long time, Calcutta was still the only South Asian University centre in 1954 offering a regular course in the subject. There are now over 15 universities that offer some course in linguistics. Linguistics has been put back on the map of Indian scholarship. There is also a new practical motivation for this study - the so-called language problems of South Asia, especially the need for expanding, updating, and diversifying language teaching facilities. The danger of unscholarly motives like regional or national chauvinism creeping into language studies is very real but is probably not a serious threat. A welcome feature of the present situation is that linguistics has started attracting recruits from fields other than language teaching, literature, and cultural history. In addition, there are research groups interested in language at the science institutes at Bombay and Bangalore, Kanpur and Pilani.

We have a long way to go, there is a whole museum of South Asian languages waiting for us to exploit. We can begin (to adapt the words of Goethe) by making our own what we have merely inherited - from our own past as well as from the rest of the world.

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DISCUSSION ON

MODERN LINGUISTICS

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE FROM A SOUTH ASIAN VIEWPOINT

by

Ashok R. Kelkar

Contributor 1 Mr. Ayodhya Prasad Pradhan

I have three points I would like Dr. Kelkar to expand on:

1. Why should Chinese be called an exotic language?
2. What is the phenomenon behind the shift from a prepositioned to a postpositional system?
3. What does Dr. Kelkar have to say about the psychology of language change?

Speaker's Reply

1. 'Exotic' is not a word I would use to describe Chinese (as can be seen from the inverted commas used in my paper). It is simply an expression taken from Western scholars at the time of their first research on Chinese. Although these scholars were familiar with Indo European languages and Semitic, Chinese presented features which were totally new in various ways and which therefore sounded strange and unfamiliar at that time. I was merely showing the widening of horizons the western linguists experienced at that point.

2. In my paper I have made it clear that historical relationships enable us to group languages in two ways: into language families and language zones, e.g. the Himalayan zone, or more-widely, the Mouth Asian zone, Older languages in this zone, such as Sanskrit, had prepositional system because there was an option (vikalpa). Unlike such languages as Sanskrit, Dravidian languages are purely postpositional languages and this must have spread to other languages in the area.

3. The psychology of language is very important but we know little about it, so at this stage our approach has to be very cautious. We can only say 'Here is an interesting fact' or 'There is an interesting shift' etc. but there is no ready answer as yet.

Mr. Anand Dev Batta

Contributor 2

What is the difference between the dying of a language and a displacement or split?

Speaker's Reply

If you look at my paper carefully you will see I am not making any difference. Languages seldom die because the speakers die out. There have been cases where whole tribes die out and this is still a cultural and biological mystery. It is very rare, however, that this happens but when it does it is, of course, the death of a language in the literal sense of the term. More commonly languages are displaced by competing languages. For example, as was mentioned yesterday, the process of certain tribal languages disappearing can be seen in Nepal. These languages are disappearing, not because the tribals are disappearing but because they are shifting their languages in Nepali. For instance, when they migrate from one area in Nepal to another or when they migrate to another country they tend to adopt Nepali in the first case or another language in the second and forget their own language. This 'language forgetting' is what I call language displacement.

The second possibility is that a language may split into divergent descendents. An example of this is Latin which does not survive as such today though different changed forms of Latin survive. In France, Spain and Italy Latin changed differently to give use to French, Spanish and Italian. As the French linguist Gustav Paris said 'Nous parlons latin'.

The third case is that a language may change beyond recognition, for example the Old English which King Alfred spoke and English today. The language of the old texts is hardly recognized as English and scholars for a long time referred to it as Anglo-Saxon.

LINGUISTIC PREJUDICE

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This lecture title sounds rather interesting but probably somewhat mysterious and its relevance to this seminar is no doubt obscure to most people. I am not an expert on linguistic prejudice, in fact I have never heard of an expert on this subject, in fact I have never heard of this being called a subject. But there is no doubt there is such a phenomenon as linguistic prejudice and there is no doubt it exists among all peoples of the world; it may even exist among all people of the world but that is a not particularly helpful speculation - at this point anyway. I would like to open the topic for discussion by saying something about prejudice in general, and then giving examples of linguistic prejudice. After this I hope to give some idea of the dangers of it, particularly in a multilingual situation, and finally suggest how it may be avoided or overcome. Hopefully this will all be directed to raising questions about linguistic prejudices in Nepal, which I am not qualified to do, finding out what they are and how they may be overcome. I should add that as a phonetician I am in no way especially qualified to talk on this topic which would fall more in the domains of psycho-linguistics and socio-linguistics than anything else. The questions and answers I hope to provoke will be as useful as any information I could provide.

Prejudice is an attitude or evaluation which is based on false premises. It is a judgement made before the facts are known, a prejudgment. Usually prejudices are unfavourable and hostile so that if a prejudice is mentioned which is a positive one then it is almost invariably prefaced by a qualifier such as "favourable." That is, the unqualified use of "prejudice" is understood to be unfavourable.

A linguistic prejudice is obviously a prejudice regarding language. It is an attitude or evaluation or judgment of language, languages or some aspect of a language which has no known foundation or basis in linguistic fact, but which derives from some experience outside language. Many prejudices are simply inherited, either from the immediate family, or the larger linguistic and ethnic group, or from a still larger group such as the nation; some prejudices are acquired in other ways, such as from individual experience.

It would probably be safe to say that everyone, or almost everyone, has prejudices of some kind or other. Some appear to be harmless, others very harmful. I know of a woman who is prejudiced about extremely handsome men; this is not very harmful, just something of a loss for the woman, and the handsome men too perhaps. A prejudice which is very widespread in the world and, to my mind, extremely harmful is what is commonly called colour prejudice. Black people are prejudiced against white people, brown against black, white against brown with all possible commutations and colours of persons. There are many sound historical and current social reasons which would explain how these prejudices have arisen but none of them dispel the fact that they are prejudices, judgments made without knowledge of the facts.

As already mentioned, some prejudices seem to be personal ones acquired on an individual basis by an individual. For example I know someone who believes that all red-haired people are untrustworthy. Presumably this person had some unfortunate experience with a red-haired person and after that time became prejudiced against all people with red hair. Linguistic prejudices may be similarly individual. A person may dislike a certain language or dialect or accent of his own language, judging it crude or clumsy or ineffective without any real knowledge of the language or dialect and without having this opinion shared by other members of his group. These sorts of individual prejudices are obviously not as dangerous as group-held prejudices since they carry little weight.

There are a great many people all over the world who are prejudiced against anyone who smokes hashish or ganja for pleasure or against any European man who has hair below his shoulders or against anyone who has deliberately made facial scarring. In England many of the Pakistani immigrants consider the English dirty while many English consider the Pakistani immigrants dirty. This may not be a good example of prejudice, however, since it may be simply a different way of evaluating dirtiness. I have heard certain Hindus say that Moslems are dirty. I suspect that this might be a prejudice. Anyway these kinds of prejudice are to a large extent socially conditioned and I am sure that none of us are completely free of them, or the danger of them. Other prejudices seem to be completely culturally derived. That is, they are handed down from generation to generation within a cultural group. In other words a hostile or unfavourable attitude which was at one time quite valid and rational has become a prejudice because the hostile feeling has remained while the reason for it has disappeared. For example, it is said by the English that the

Scots are mean and tight-fisted over money. As an English person who lived in Scotland for some time this seems to be untrue and a judgment from an earlier generation. It may be that at one time in the past, for some good reason, the Scots in general had to be unusually careful over money and that the English absorbed into their culture this characteristic. The situation and behaviour of the Scots changed but the opinion of the English did not, giving rise to an inherited prejudice.

So far, there have been no examples of linguistic prejudice. It may be useful to start by giving the example of my own first awareness of the phenomenon. This falls within my own linguistic speciality, phonetics, and my own original socio-cultural background, England. What I shall describe is well known to certain people present as a documented linguistic situation. In England there is one accent of Standard English named Received Pronunciation, which was, and to a large extent still is, a social or class accent, as opposed to a regional accent, which is spoken by members of a socially somewhat elite group. Without going into details it can be said that this accent provokes very strong feelings of like and dislike because it reflects more immediately than anything else the existence of the social divisions in England. These feelings are perfectly natural and understandable. But from this situation has emerged a linguistic prejudice in some quarters, namely, that this accent, this way of pronouncing English, is inherently better than any other. Amongst other claims made for it, it is said to be more intelligible than any other. As there is no evidence to support this judgment (and we are considering judgments, not hypotheses) nor on the other hand even any linguistic facts to suggest that it should be a hypothesis, it is clearly an example of a linguistic prejudice.

There is a rather similar situation with Nepali. There are a number of different dialects of Nepali. The dialect that has become prestigious is a kind of gentry class dialect emanating from Kathmandu. The characteristic forms of this dialect have been adopted by some speakers of other dialects of Nepali who believe this will add to their prestige or sophistication. Just as Received Pronunciation has come to have all sorts of unjustifiable virtues attached to it such as beauty, grace and intelligibility and the other accents of English are said to be comic or crude or uneducated, so this dialect of Nepali has acquired for some people all sorts of virtues and the other dialects of Nepali are considered uncouth.

With all such linguistic prejudices there is an iniquitous vicious circle. The speakers of the 'inferior' form of the language come to acquire by association a somehow displeasing quality. Equally, a social prejudice of one group towards another gives the language or dialect of this second group associated unpleasant characteristics. For example, some Newars feel a certain resentment against Chetris and Brahmins and vice versa. By association the language of the Chetris and Brahmins has acquired an unpleasantness for these Newars.

Within my own society there are of course many other linguistic prejudices. For example, it is commonly said that French is a logical language. Now what does that mean? I tend to think one can assess behaviour as to how much or how little it is logical. One can also assess whether an argument is logical or not. But I have never heard of any linguistic facts which could be produced as evidence to support the inherent logicality of a language. It may be that the French argue more logically than other people. I am not qualified to evaluate this. But I suppose sampling could be made and criteria for logical argument set up to prove or disprove such a hypothesis. But it appears impossible to do the same for a language. It probably means that those who say this believe the French set out their arguments unusually logically, and, by a process of association, the language has come to acquire this quality in their eyes.

Let us turn to statements and opinions about languages which reflect more far reaching prejudices. All statements I shall mention are ones I have heard on several occasions.

1. A language is a primitive language.
2. B language is a superior language because it has not changed over the past 500 years.
3. C language is a superior language because it has changed to become so much more complex in its structure.
4. D language is a superior language because it has changed to become so much more simplified.
5. E language is a superior language because it is so old.
6. F language is an inferior language because it has no orthography.
7. G language is a superior language because it is 'pure' in having very few borrowed words in it.
8. H language is a superior language because it has incorporated so many words from other languages.

All these statements carry explicit value judgments, except the first which is an implicit value judgment. Let us examine some of these statements.

I have heard certain languages of West Africa, Australia and of Nepal called primitive. Interestingly there are no linguistic facts to support such statements. In other words there is no group of languages which have anything linguistically in common or anything in their structure which would identify them as primitive.

In linguistics there are two ways of grouping languages together: genetically and typologically. By genetic grouping we mean that two or more languages belong together because they are descended from a common parent language. For example, English and Nepali are genetically related because it can be shown that they belong to the same language family, that they had some common distant ancestor, whereas Newari and Nepali are not. English and Nepali belong to the Indo-European language family; Newari belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family. The other grouping of languages, typological grouping, considers the linguistic similarities of two or more languages. For example, the sound systems of Newari and Nepali might be considered typologically closer than those of English and Nepali. Newari and Nepali have a simple syllable structure compared to English, they have contrasts between aspirated and unaspirated consonants which English does not and their vowel systems are more similar than those of English and Nepali.

The three languages mentioned above and described as primitive are not genetically related. One belongs to the Niger-Congo family, another to the Austro-Asiatic and the third to the Tibeto-Burman family. The question then is whether there are some linguistic features, or even a linguistic feature, which these languages, and any other language described as primitive, have in common and which are not shared by 'non-primitive' language.

The kinds of statements made about so-called primitive languages are that these languages "fail to generalise", have a multiplicity of forms and that their forms are almost exclusively concrete. One language used for over 100 years to exemplify this was Cherokee, an American Indian language. The basis for these statements about the language was an article written in 1823. This article was subsequently quoted a number of times and the whole idea of "failure to generalise" developed from it by Otto Jesperen. As recently as 1951 Ullman continued with the same argument based on the same data. In 1952 Archibald A. Hill finally quashed this myth[1] by setting out the linguistic facts about Cherokee and showing that the facts upon which statements about its primitiveness were based were simply inaccurate and inadequate. He says, "As to the supposed lack of generalising power, it is ironical that the list of forms before us generalises in one instance more than does English." "I can think of no better example of a cultural lag than that the letter written by Butrick some time before 1823 is still having its effect in 1951 because linguists incorporated his statements in supposedly authoritative books without bothering to subject his list of forms to analysis."[2]

It appears that no linguist who has worked on large numbers of languages belonging to different language families has found any linguistic evidence for setting up a typologically distinct group of languages which would incorporate those sometimes called "primitive". The term "primitive language" reflects a linguistic prejudice, in other words. It may be that sociologists or anthropologists are prepared to set up a typologically defined group which they would call a primitive society, but the languages of these societies would not share a common feature or features.

Somewhat related to the notion of primitive languages is the idea that some languages are superior or inferior according to the extent and way in which they have changed. This will concern statements 2, 3 and 4 on page 6 above. The interesting point about this is that there have been diametrically opposed views on this. On the one hand there are those who maintain there is a special virtue in a language which has not changed over a long period of time. One example I can quote is of a Tamil speaker praising Tamil for this particular virtue. There is no doubt that there are at any rate certain advantages in a language not changing if it has an orthography. The relationship between the orthography and the pronunciation will not change; furthermore the language and therefore the literature of earlier times is easily comprehensible. On the other hand there are those that claim, according to evolutionary theory, that change must inevitably be a virtue, that, just as in biological evolution, languages change to a direction of being more advanced. But once again, these opposing views are based on beliefs derived from observation of a limited number of languages rather than more concrete proof from observations of many languages. Traditional evolutionary theories of Europe in the nineteenth century have claimed that the more "advanced" a language becomes the more complex it becomes, morphologically.[3] Others, such as Jespersen,[4] believe the opposite, that the movement of languages is towards simplicity and not complexity. But there appears to be proof for neither view. Jesperson, acknowledged as a great linguist by all, restricted his data to Indo-European languages, and in the light of information about the development of other language families his opinions are not valid. Joseph H. Greenberg, who has first and second hand experience of several hundred African languages, besides considerable knowledge of other linguistic areas, says, "An objective survey fails to disclose any decisive correlation between morphological complexity and the usual criteria of cultural evolution."5 He adds, "Certainly, then, the evolution of language as such has never been demonstrated, and the inherent equality of all languages must be maintained on present evidence."6

In the light of this last quotation we may briefly consider the remaining statements on page 40 above. All the qualities or advantages and disadvantages ascribed to languages in the last four statements: age, lack of an orthography, relative absence or presence of words borrowed from other languages, have no bearing on the language itself. The fact that a language took up a separate identity and name and therefore that its speakers became culturally distinct may give its speakers great historical pride and the language a larger literature, but it does not in any way add to its efficiency. Equally, the fact that a language is without an orthography may mean that its speakers are deprived of facility of communication and also a large quantity of recorded literature and history, but again there is no typological similarity between unwritten languages; they show no differences from written languages. And, incidentally, the literatures of many unwritten languages appear to be as qualitatively excellent as those of written languages. The last point, about borrowings, is equally as unfounded. Borrowings will be made according to whether the speakers of the language wish to borrow or not. There is no virtue in borrowing or not borrowing - from a linguistic point of view, though there may be from a nationalistic or political one. Prohibitions by supposedly learned bodies against borrowing have never been effective. If the speakers of a language like the feel of a borrowed word they will use it regardless and their language will not suffer thereby.

Related to these ideas about languages are many other mistaken notions, such as that the language of peasants is very limited in vocabulary, that certain types of languages do not and are unable to handle abstract ideas and that certain languages are inherently difficult to learn. I would like to suggest also that there are certain terms which in themselves seem to carry an implicit prejudice. Such terms as "tribal language", "dialect", "vernacular" sometimes, among certain people, have a derogatory connotation which is totally unjustified, linguistically at any rate.

"Tribal languages" are those languages spoken by so-called "tribal people", who have some social factors in common but who share no linguistic identity. For many a tribal language is some kind of inferior language, and the term is often used in a similar way to that of "primitive language". This term is restricted to this continent as far as I know.

The term "dialect" on the other hand seems to be one that is used in a derogatory sense by some people in all cultures or linguistic areas. The usual implication is that a dialect is an inferior form of a language. It has been said, even appeared in print, that Nepali is a dialect of Hindi. In India certain languages which are found in Bihar, such as Maithili, Bhojpuri, Avadhi, are often called Bihari dialects, meaning Bihari dialects of Hindi. This implies that these languages have no linguistic, nor political, status or independence. Most speakers of these languages would assert they were independent languages, with their own culture, literature and also their own dialects. But at one time some Maithili speakers themselves called Maithili a dialect of Hindi since Hindi was prestigious and they thought there might be some material gain to be derived from this identification. There are many forms of prejudice attached to "dialect". It was reported to me that one otherwise highly educated and cultured Nepali declared adamently that those forms of speech which have an orthography are languages, and those which do not are dialects. There are many dialects of English, that is, forms of English which differ from each other in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. One of these is acknowledged by all to be the standard one. Many people believe the non-standard dialects to be inferior.

Before leaving these examples I should say a few things to tidy up certain ambiguities. It appears that all languages perform with equal efficiency the function of being an adequate language for their speakers. As the culture of the speakers changes so does the language to incorporate the change. Apart from this, some cultures have apparently richer literatures than others, but this is not related to written as opposed to unwritten languages, nor is it related to the language itself. Some languages are spoken and have always been spoken by a relatively small number of people. Some languages are used in a relatively narrow type of culture. As Greenberg says "languages are equal in the sense that they are all "created equal" that is, have equal potentialities. In fact, some which have undergone cultivation probably have greater resources of expression, but this is not owing to any inherent superiority. Any language placed in the same position, through non-linguistic factors will be capable of similar development".[7]

Having given these few examples of linguistic prejudice it may appear that I am advocating total avoidance of making judgments concerning languages. This would, of course, be ridiculous. There are frequently occasions, particularly in multi-lingual societies when planners, educationists and politicians have to take decisions about languages in regard to their efficiency or adequancy in given situations. But it is on such occasions that linguistic prejudice can be most harmful. It may result in ineffective policy or it may obscure other prejudices, which are even more painful to face, and thereby obscure the real situation which must be understood before any progress can be made.

Let me take some hypothetical examples from Nepal. It is generally agreed that from all points of view it is desirable for Nepali to be a second language, when it is not the mother tongue, of all Nepalese. The reasons for this are self-evident. A variety of linguistic prejudices could interfere with bringing about this situation quickly.

There could first of all be an unwillingness to acknowledge the importance of the mother tongue in learning a second language, so that information, linguistic information, essential to second language learning is simply ignored. Needless to say, in such matters as language policy linguistic expediency has to be balanced against economic expediency, e.g. the expense of producing text books, as well as considerations of available teaching man-power. There could be an unwillingness to acknowledge that it is not yet known to what extent Nepali is not a second language for non-Nepali mother-tongue speakers. There could be an unwillingness to explore the effectiveness of the teaching of Nepali to these Nepalese. There could be hostility to the idea that teaching in the mother tongue, and through the mother tongue making a transition to Nepali as the medium of instruction, could lead eventually to a much firmer grasp of Nepali, besides improving the general education of the pupil.

There is another matter pertinent to the use of Nepali as the national language where prejudice could arise. When Nepali is used for certain technical subjects for which it has no standardised vocabulary, occasionally decisions may have to be taken as to how Nepali will be expanded to incorporate the new technicalities. It will be essential at this point to be completely unprejudiced. It will be unhelpful, indeed harmful, if decisions are made on the basis of prejudice. I can imagine that some might say Sanskrit is the only language from which to expand Nepali because Sanskrit is the mother of Nepali and because, they say, it is the most highly developed language in the world. And I can imagine others advocating English for these technical innovations because it is the language of modern technicalities. Neither is necessarily right.

So what is the cure for this general human weakness? The only relatively safe and effective cure is to learn to look at language objectively, impartially and without feelings, that is to say, scientifically; or to have faith in someone who claims to be able to do this, most probably a linguist. This second method is very difficult for most non-linguists who have strong feelings and attitudes about languages. Bloomfield says rather bitterly when discussing strongly opinionated responses of non-linguists to language "The linguist's cue in this situation of listening to a non-linguist discoursing on language is to observe; but if, giving in to a natural impulse (or else, by way of experiment), he tries to enlighten the speaker, he encounters a TERTIARY RESPONSE to language. The tertiary response occurs almost inevitably when the conventional secondary response is subjected to question. The tertiary response is hostile; the speaker grows contemptuous or angry. He will impatiently re-affirm the secondary response, or, more often, he will resort to one of a few well-fixed formulas of confutation.... A cultured speaker, in confuting the linguist's statements about the relation of writing to language is likely to appeal, without making clear the connection, to the existence of great writers in his language."[8]

To end on a personal note I would like to mention my own experience in teaching linguistics to students belonging to three quite distinct cultures, in Britain, West Africa and now, for a very short time, in Nepal. In all three cultures I found the students to a greater or lesser extent linguistically prejudiced, and I found equally that after learning something about the nature of language most students came to acknowledge their prejudices, which meant they were capable of becoming free of them. What is even more rewarding, I found that invariably the shedding of the linguistic prejudices has meant the shedding of other social and cultural prejudices. But most linguists are human beings too and I suspect that unexorcised linguistic prejudices are to be found buried somewhere under all their jargon.

FOOTNOTES

1/ "A Note on Primitive Languages", IJAL 18 pp. 172-177.

2/ op. cit.

3/ See, for example, August Schleicher, Die Darwinsche Theoriochwissenschaft (Berlin 1863).

4/ Otto Jespersen, Efficiency in Linguistic Change (Copenhagen, 1941).

5/ "Language and Evolutionary Theory", Chapter 5 p 85 in Language, Culture and Communications" Essays by Joseph W Greenberg, selected and introduced by Anwar S Dil (Stanford, 1971). (Originally Chapter 5 in Essays in Linguistics, Chicago, 1957).

6/ op. cit. p. 91.

7/ op. cit p 12, note 7.

8/ Leonard Bloomfield "Secondary and Tertiary Responses to Language", Language, 20 (1944) pp 45-55.

DISCUSSION ON

LINGUISTIC PREJUDICE

by

Lindsay Friedman

Contributor 1 — Dr. Hugh Purcell

I am interested in the statement of Mrs. Friedman that there is no evidence that certain languages are inherently more difficult to learn than others. It appears that language learning difficulty depends on the linguistic group of the learner's mother tongue and the linguistic group of the language to be learned. While I was a student in Cambridge surveys were made for the Extramural Board over several years to examine the difficulties of English learners all over the world. This had nothing whatsoever to do with Intelligence Testing, incidentally. It was found that difficulty largely depended on the particular structure of the mother tongue language. For example, Arabs and Japanese have particular difficulty with English - often highly educated people. And it was clear also that people who had most difficulties with English were speakers of languages which were particularly difficult for English speakers to learn.

I would like to move on to another topic which may involve linguistic prejudice and which may not have occured to some people present. As has been said, although no language is necessarily inherently difficult to learn, people find a language related to their own language easier to learn. Similarly, no particular type of a language is more difficult, though scientists, for example, say they can learn to read scientific articles rapidly in new languages, mainly because of vocabulary but also for reasons of structure. But there are certain assumptions about language learning which have not been proved by evidence and which hence may be called linguistic prejudice. One of these assumptions is that the most simplified form of a language is easier to learn than a more complex form. Is this necessarily true? Does it follow that what is simplified by the 'linguistic industry' in England or America as tabulam for people in other countries is easier for all learners of English? Does it also follow that a language in its present state is necessarily easier than a slightly older form of the language?

Let us take literature for example. I find that the concepts of English literature in the nineteenth, eighteenth and even as far back as the sixteenth century are very easily understood by students. But even if I make a great effort to explain it, students experience great difficulty with American literature of the past ten years. I think this is largely because they have not been through the experiences of the U.S.A during the last ten years. They have not undergone the same cultural and industrial transformations.

Let us now consider newspapers. Of course it is necessary for newspapers in the language to be understood. But it has been remarkably difficult teaching newspapers; the coverage of topics is so vast that even the teachers find them difficult to understand.

My point then is - how do we grade according to difficulty? It is obviously good to progress from easy to more difficult, but the question is what is easier for the student? We cannot assume that something from the twentieth century is easier than something from, say, the eighteenth century. My feeling is that grading cannot be done in a vacuum. Specific problems and specific students have to be considered. For example the materials for teaching spoken English and English comprehension have to be different. The latter has to have greater scope and complexity and a larger vocabulary to function properly. I suspect there is a kind of linguistic prejudice, even amongst linguists, about what is easy or difficult for students. Different students in different parts of the world are themselves in different, let us call it, "mental states" in their own language and what we imagine to be easy may in fact be difficult for them and vice versa. There is a great need for solid large scale research all over the world to find out the needs of different students in different cultural and linguistic settings. The results of this would show, I dare to guess, that there is no one simple grading rading system applicable to all learners of English whatever their cultural and socio-economic level.

Contributor 2

Dr. Ashok R. Kelkar

I was looking at this paper this morning and noticed the typing error in the first sentence of the second paragraph ("Prejudice is an attitude or evaluation which is based on false promises" instead of "premises")* and wondered if the typist was not, after all, correct. Prejudice does offer a false promise, namely that a premise is being offered. Actually none is being offered. It is not that they are false; they are simply not there. With a prejudice you are promising to offer a reason where no reason is forthcoming. Indeed, looking at it from the other way, sometimes the pseudo premises may contain a grain of truth and in that case the prejudice is even more dangerous.

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*Note : This error has been corrected in this published version of the papers.

Let us take the question of difficulty. Some languages are more difficult than others. There are two points about this: 1. Difficult for whom? This has already been discussed by the previous speaker. 2. When linguists talk about difficulty they are talking about difficulty of description. For example, Dr. Hale in his paper suggests that the morphology of Kham is more difficult than the morphology of a number of other languages. So one can make the statement that some parts of some languages are more difficult to describe than the corresponding parts of other languages. And then the linguist suspects that what is difficult for him is so much more difficult for the layman. And that is a prejudice which we have to examine - but I won't go into details of that just now. Personally I suspect that the linguist may be justified to a certain extent. For example, children tend to simplify the grammar of their languages, as far as the adults will let them - finally, of course they browbeat them into conforming. But sometimes the children succeed and the language changes.

GRAMMARS FOR THE LAY READER

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In a developing country such as Nepal there are numerous problems related to national development to which applied linguistics can contribute some useful solutions. Problems of literacy and of foreign language teaching constitute just two examples among many. Applied linguistics, however, must be based upon solid linguistic description. The relative lack of reliable reference grammars and dictionaries for the minority vernaculars of Nepal is a lack that can seriously hamper any projected program in applied linguistics which involves the minority vernaculars. The construction of reference works for the minority vernaculars is of potentially very great practical importance in laying the foundation for a wide range of practical projects desirable for national development.

If linguistic descriptions are to serve this kind of practical goal, however, they must be written so as to be understood by the lay reader as, for example, the educated government office holder who has no linguistic training and the school teacher, who though competent to teach his subjects well has nevertheless yet to hear the names of Bloomfield, Sapir, Firth, Jones, Harris, or Chomsky. People such as these are quite accustomed to using dictionaries, and dictionaries are among the most appreciated products of linguistic research so far as the lay reader is concerned. Part of the reason for this is the fact that dictionaries normally allow the reader rather direct access to certain facts about given language. The reader is usually able to obtain information from a dictionary without any explicit knowledge of linguistic theory and without having to perform any elaborate derivations. Modern technical linguistic grammars tend to be of considerably less use to the average lay reader since they demand much more of him in the way of linguistic background and since much useful information can be obtained from such grammars only by the application of numerous rules to some rather abstract underlying representations.

This is not to say that linguists should shun the more technical aspects of their discipline or that they should never indulge in the construction of modern linguistic grammars. Far from it--to achieve an adequate description even for the lay reader the best theories available must be used--but in publishing linguistic findings we should distinguish quite sharply between our lay audience and our technical audience. When providing reference works for a lay audience we need to demonstrate a greater flexibility in inventing and utilizing modes of description which are efficient in providing the lay reader rapid access to descriptive materials and which are less demanding in terms of the amount of technical background required of the reader.

The purpose of this paper is to present one paradigm for the positive active transitive past tense verb in Kham[1] and to present it in four different descriptive modes. It should soon be obvious that no single descriptive mode has a monopoly on tool value. Each has certain tasks it performs best and each has certain weaknesses in presenting linguistic findings to a lay audience. This paper is intended as a starting point in the search for descriptive modes in grammar which are especially suitable for conveying to the educated lay reader a good idea of the structure of a language he does not know.

A. The Model of the Calendar.

The calendar can be taken as a relatively simple example of the kind of reference work we are after. The kind of calendar I am referring to is that relatively non-technical sort of calendar which is common as a wall decoration in many parts of the world. I am not referring to anything like the pātro as found in Nepal. In my experience the average educated lay reader is very nearly as helpless to explain or understand much of what he finds in the pātro as he is to understand a modern linguistic grammar. I am also excluding the technical ephemerides which the average reader is helpless to interpret.

The calendar is a valuable tool. It is in a sense a product of applied astronomy. The calendar is based in one way or another upon relatively exact descriptions of the movements of various celestial bodies. The lay reader expects a certain degree of accuracy from the calendar, but he is not equipped to handle the computations upon which the calendar is based. Ideally a grammar for the lay reader should be as reliable as a calendar and not very much more difficult to use--at least for certain purposes.[2] In a grammar for the lay reader the results of grammatical analysis should be made as accessible as possible without burdening the reader with the theoretical trappings, heuristics, and argumentation that motivate the analysis underlying these results. These latter matters should be reserved for a technical audience that can appreciate them. However, just in case a grammar of this kind arouses the interest of the lay reader in the more technical aspects of linguistics, as it just might, it would be well to include a bibliography with proper annotation to help him find his way.

The efforts we are making in this paper to explore alternative modes of linguistic description fall into that part of linguistics commonly referred to as morphology (the study of word-structure). Modern linguistic grammars tend to concentrate on regularities and general rules and in doing so they require a very complex and abstract theoretical apparatus. Dictionaries tend to be concerned with the idiosyncracies of particular words and morphemes (meaningful parts of words). Morphology tends to fall between these two extremes.

The choice of morphology as a starting point in the exploration of accessibility in linguistic descriptions was intentional. Dictionaries are already quite useful to the lay reader. The study of semantics and syntax is of sufficient complexity to be a rather bad starting point. In the morphological systems of certain languages of Nepal, however, we find an order of complexity that does appear to need our help yet is sufficiently limited to be fruitful as a starting point. For such systems we may be able to explore alternative descriptive modes in the hope of finding some which at least distantly approach the calendar in usefulness.

B. Alternative Descriptive Modes for the Kham Active Positive Verb.

In this section we will investigate four alternative descriptive modes for the Kham verb: 1. Transformational Generative Grammar, 2. Finite State Diagram, 3. Analytic Matrices, and 4. Citation Matrix. The modes are presented in approximately the inverse order of accessibility. The reader who wishes immediate access to the paradigm of forms under discussion is therefore encouraged to turn immediately to Figure 19. The reader who is likely to bog down in systems involving some derivational complexity is encouraged to skip Section 1. The remainder of the paper can be understood quite easily without it.

1. Transformational Generative Grammar

Transformational generative grammar has typically taken the productive syntactic mechanisms of language as its central concern.[3] Although no one has proposed to make morphology central to descriptions in transformational generative grammar, Halle, 1973 represents some interesting work in this area. One of the original emphases of this approach was upon the fact that there is no "longest" sentence in languages such as English. Since a grammatical sentence can almost always be lengthened, there is a sense in which there is no limit on the number of different sentences in a language like English. If the grammar of English is to be able to generate all the sentences of English, it cannot consist entirely of lists, but must also contain rules. The original emphasis of the approach was upon the rules needed to describe the productive processes by means of which sentences of any length could be constructed. Semi-productive systems such as those of verb morphology were considered of secondary interest. Lees, 1960, for example, does not concern himself with person agreement of subject and verb in English, nor do his rules generate sentences with first or second person subjects. In this paper our concern is with the accessibility of surface structures for lay readers of the grammar. Since this concern is radically different from that of transformational generative grammar, it would not be surprising if this model turned out to be less than optimal for our purposes. This should not, of course, be construed in any way as an adverse criticism of the model itself. Legitimate criticism of a model is offered only in terms of the goals the model sets for itself. What may become clear, however, is that no model is equally appropriate for all descriptive purposes.

We adopt a model somewhat similar to that of Chomsky, 1965 for the purpose of this treatment. We assume the following steps in the generation of Kham verbs:

1. The underlying structure of the sentence is generated by means of phrase structure expansion rules.
2. The semi-terminal nodes are subcategorized according to various inherent subcategorization possibilities and according to constraints on selectional features among various syntactically defined relationships within the sentence (selection).
3. Agreement transformations copy person and number features of the subject and object into the verb.
4. Lexical morphemes are inserted as terminal complex symbols in the tree. Strict subcategorization is taken as a function of lexical insertion.
5. The relevant transformations are applied to yield the surface order of morphemes.

6. Morphophonemic rules apply to yield the surface phonological shapes of verbal morphemes as required.

We will assume that steps 1, 2, and 3 are given by the grammar and we will concern ourselves primarily with steps 4, 5, and 6. We assume that the first three steps yield representations like that given in Figure 1, (where // is a word boundary).[4]

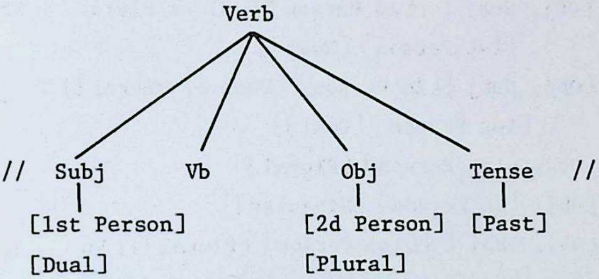


Figure 1. Sample output of steps one through three.

In addition, we assume the lexical rule given by Chomsky (1965, 84)

> "If Q is a complex symbol of the preterminal string and (D,C) is a lexical entry, where C is not distinct from Q, then Q can be replaced by C."

Given this rule we need lexical entries for verbal morphemes which will correctly govern their insertion. The following is a sampling of such entries.[5]

nga	[Subj, [1st Person] [Singular]]
gin	[Subj, [1st Person] [Dual]]
ge	[Subj, [1st Person] [Plural]]
nx	[Subj, [2d Person] [Singular]]
jin	[Subj, ___ Vb Obj [-[[1st Person] [Plural]]], [2d Person] [Singular]]
je	[Subj, ___ Vb Obj [+[[1st Person] [Plural]]], [2d Person] [Singular]] [Subj, [2d Person] [Plural]]
o	[Subj, [3d Person] [Singular]]

ni	[Subj, ___ Vb Obj [+[Singular]], [3d Person] [Dual]]
	[Subj, ___ Vb Obj [+[3d Person]], [3d Person] [Dual]]
rx	[Subj, ___ Vb Obj [-[Singular] and -[3d Person]], [3d Person][Dual]]
	[Subj, [3d Person] [Plural]]
na	[Obj, [1st Person] [Singular]]
sin	[Obj, Subj [-[[2d Person][Dual or Plural]]] Vb ___], [1st Person] [Dual]]
si	[Obj, Subj [[2d Person] [Dual or Plural]] Vb ___], [1st Person] [Dual]]
	[Obj, [1st Person] [Plural]]
ni	[Obj, [2d Person] [Singular]]
cin	[Obj, Subj [-[[1st Person] [Plural]]] Vb ___], [1st Person] [Plural]]
ci	[Obj, Subj [+[[1st Person] [Plural]]] Vb ___], [1st Person] [Plural]]
	[Obj, [2d Person] [Plural]]
Ø	[Obj, [3d Person] [Singular]]
ni	[Obj, Subj [+[Singular]] Vb ___, [3d Person] [Dual]]
ra	[Obj, Subj [-[Singular] and -[3d Person]] Vb ___, [3d Person] [Dual]]
	[Obj, Subj [-[3d Person]] Vb ___, [3d person] [Plural]]
yara	[Obj, Subj [-[Singular] +[3d Person]] Vb ___, [3d Person] [-[Singular]]]
ya	[Obj, Subj [+[3d Person] +[Singular]] Vb ___, [3d Person] [Plural]]
poh	[Vb, [Subj ___ Obj], [hit]]
ke	[Tense, [Past]]

Given these lexical entries, the lexical rule will be able to insert the proper person and number markers in the verb. It so happens, however, that third person objects occur immediately preceding the verb stem rather than immediately following it as do first and second person objects. It is also the case that third person subjects occur following the tense morpheme rather than preceding the verb as do first and second person subject affixes. We therefore need two third person affix permutations. These may be written as follows:

Third Person Subject Affix Permutation:

SD: // , Subj [3d Person], X + Tense , //
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 , 3 , 2 , 4

CA: Obligatory

Third Person Object Affix Permutation:

SD: // X , Vb , Object [3d Person], Tense + Y //
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 , 3 , 2 , 4

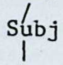
CA: Obligatory

We will now attempt to explain the use of this descriptive apparatus in generating verbal forms in Kham. Starting with Figure 1, we consult the dictionary. A dictionary entry of the sort exemplified in our rather simplified sample can be viewed as consisting of four parts as follows:

$$\underbrace{\text{jin}}_{1}\ \underbrace{[\text{Subj}}_{2},\ \underbrace{\_\_\_\_\text{Vb Obj }[-[[\text{1st Person}][\text{Plural}]]]}_{3},\ \underbrace{[\text{2d Person}]\ldots}_{4}$$

The first part of the entry gives a phonological representation of the morpheme. This representation will sometimes fall within the scope of later morphophonemic rules and thus cannot be taken as a direct representation of the phonetic shape of the morpheme.

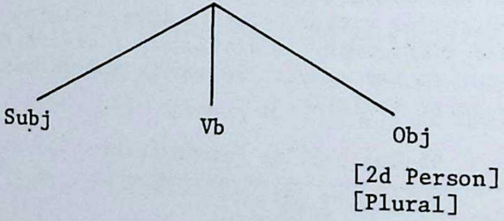
Parts two, three, and four specify conditions on lexical insertion. Part two states a condition on the node which may dominate the entry after lexical insertion. Figure 1 has four such nodes, Subj, Vb, Obj, and Tense. Part two of the sample entry given above indicates that this morpheme can only be inserted under the node, Subj, in Figure 1. The relevant portion of Figure 1 is:



The relevant portion of the entry for jin is [Subj. Since the relevant part of the tree in Figure 1 and the relevant portion of the entry for jin are not in conflict, the subject node of Figure 1 is a potential point of insertion for jin. (We repeat the sample entry for ease of reference:)

$$\underbrace{\text{jin}}_{1}\ \underbrace{[\text{Subj}}_{2}\ ,\ \underbrace{\_\_\_\ \text{Vb Obj }[-[[\text{1st Person}][\text{Plural}]]]}_{3}\ ,\ \underbrace{[\text{2d Person}][\text{Singular}]]}_{4}$$

Part three is a condition on the environment in which the entry can be inserted. The blank at the beginning of part three indicates the position of the entry within the specified environment. The condition expressed by part three of this entry can be stated as follows: 'jin may be inserted only in the environment preceding the string, Vb + Obj, where Obj does not have the features, [1st Person][Plural].' With reference to Figure 1, jin would be inserted preceding the string, Vb + Obj, and Obj does not have the features [1st Person][Plural]. Since only this combination of features serves to block insertion, the environmental conditions on the insertion of jin are satisfied by the position dominated by Subj in Figure 1. The relevant portion of Figure 1 is:



The relevant portion of the entry for jin is, ___ Vb Obj [-[[1st Person][Plural]]], In comparing the two we see that the proposed point of insertion is followed immediately by the string, Vb + Obj. We note further that the set of features associated with Obj is [2d Person][Plural] and not [1st Person][Plural]. This condition on insertion is thus satisfied.

Part four is a condition on the set of features for which jin would be substituted upon insertion. The features which are present under Subj in Figure 1 must be matched by the fourth part of any entry that is to be inserted under that node.

The relevant portion of Figure 1 is:

```
        Subj
          |
   [1st Person]
   [Dual]
```

The relevant portion of the entry for *jin* is [2d Person] [Singular]. The two do not match, hence lexical insertion of *jin* as the subject affix in Figure 1 is blocked.

A few other conventions on the use of features as conditions for lexical insertion may need explanation. In the entry for *je*, the third part of the entry is: ___ Vb Obj [+[[1st Person] [Plural]]]. To satisfy this condition on insertion, the set of features associated with the object following the potential point of insertion must include **both** [1st Person] **and** [Plural]. The third part of the entry for rx is: ___ Vb Obj [-[Singular] and -[3d Person]]. To satisfy this condition for insertion, the set of features associated with the object following the potential point of insertion must not contain **either** [Singular] **or** [3d Person]. The presence of either of these two features is sufficient to block insertion. In the entry for *sin* the third part of the entry is: Subj [-[[2d Person][Dual or Plural]]] Vb ___. To satisfy this condition for insertion, the set of features associated with the subject preceding the potential point of insertion must not contain **either** the set [2d Person][Dual] **or** the set [2d Person][Plural]. The presence of either of these two sets is sufficient to block insertion.

Where there are no environmental constraints on insertion, the third part of the entry is omitted, as it is, for example, in the entry for *nga*.

Consider now the permitted lexical insertions for Figure 1. For the subject, the morpheme to be inserted must be a morpheme with Subj as its second part and with features compatible with [1st Person][Dual] as its fourth part. The entry need not have these precise feature specifications, but it cannot be inserted if it has a person specification which is different from [1st Person] or if it has a number specification which is different from [Dual]. If, however, there were a morpheme in Kham that served as first person subject in all numbers, it could be specified simply as [1st Person] and since it had no number specification in conflict with [Dual] it could be inserted under the node Subj in Figure 1. Looking through the lexicon we find the entry:

gin [Subj, [1st Person][Dual]].

All the constraints on insertion specified by this entry are satisfied by the subject node and its associated features in Figure 1. There are no special environmental constraints on insertion. We may therefore substitute this lexical entry for the corresponding set of features in Figure 1. This has been done in Figure 2.

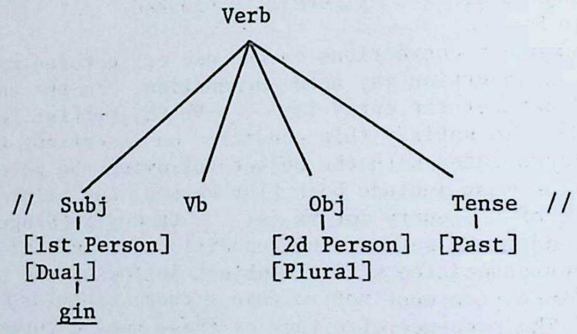

Verb
// Subj
Vb
Obj
Tense //
[1st Person]
[Dual]
gin
[2d Person]
[Plural]
[Past]

Figure 2.

Looking again through the dictionary we find an entry:

ci [Obj, [2d Person][Plural]].

This entry clearly satisfied all conditions on insertion in the object position of Figure 1. This has been done in Figure 3.

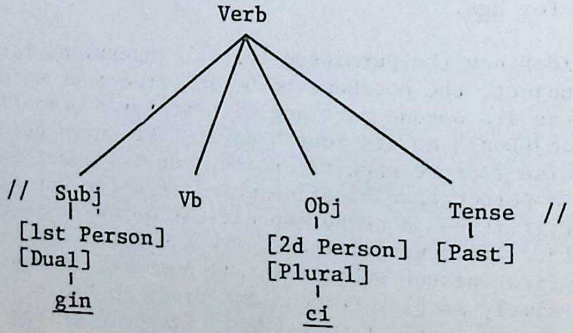

Verb
// Subj
Vb
Obj
Tense //
[1st Person]
[Dual]
gin
[2d Person]
[Plural]
ci
[Past]

Figure 3.

Similarly, the following entry is also compatible with its potential insertion point.

poh [Vb, [Subj ___ Obj], [hit]].

The third part of this entry allows insertion only where Vb is preceded by Subj and followed by Obj. Since Figure 1 satisfies this constraint, insertion can be effected as in Figure 4. Figure 4 also shows the insertion of the entry:

ke [Tense, [Past]].

Since none of the morphemes of Figure 4 are third person morphemes, neither of the affix permutations apply.

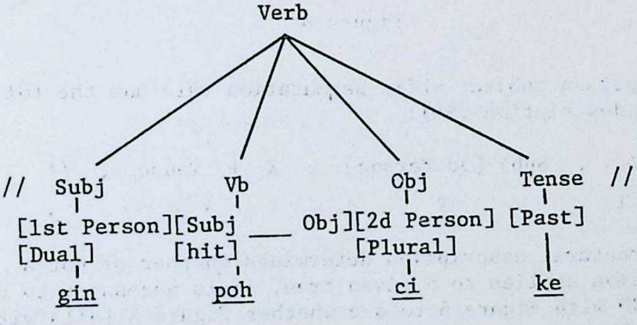

Verb
// Subj
Vb
Obj
Tense //
[1st Person]
[Dual]
[Subj ___ Obj]
[hit]
[2d Person]
[Plural]
[Past]
gin
poh
ci
ke

Figure 4.

The result of this derivation, then, is the form, gin-poh-ci-ke, which means, '1st person dual subject hit 2d person plural object in past time', or more concisely, 'We two hit you-all.

In order to illustrate the operation of the third person permutations, consider the underlying representation given in Figure 5.

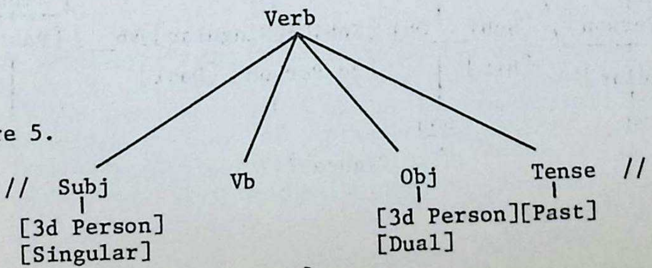

Verb
// Subj
Vb
Obj
Tense //
[3d Person]
[Singular]
[3d Person]
[Dual]
[Past]

Figure 5.

After lexical insertion Figure 6 results from Figure 5.

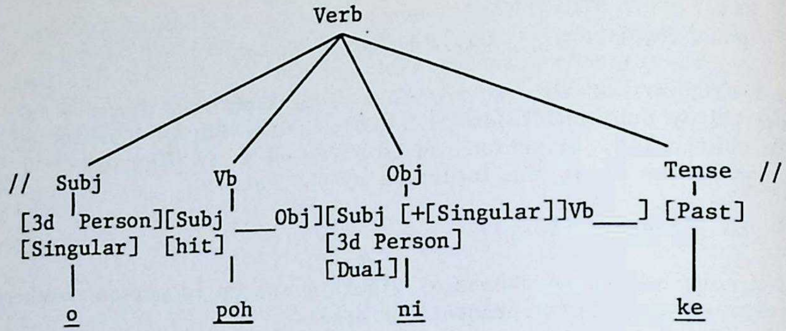

Verb
// Subj
Vb
Obj
Tense //
[3d Person][Subj ___Obj][Subj [+[Singular]]Vb___] [Past]
[Singular] [hit]
[3d Person]
[Dual]
o
poh
ni
ke

Figure 6.

The third person subject affix permutation rule has the following structural description (SD):

SD: // , Subj [3d Person] , X + Tense , //

1 2 3 4

Since a structural description determines whether or not a transformation applies to a given tree, it is necessary to compare this SD with Figure 6 to see whether Figure 6 falls within the scope of this rule. Figure 7 shows how this SD analyzes the tree given in Figure 6.

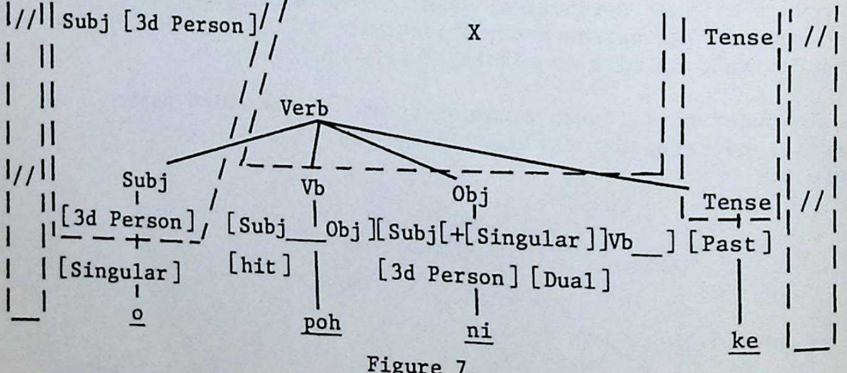

// Subj [3d Person]
X
Tense
//
Verb
//
Subj
Vb
Obj
Tense
//
[3d Person]
[Subj___Obj][Subj[+[Singular]]Vb__] [Past]
[Singular]
[hit]
[3d Person] [Dual]
o
poh
ni
ke

Figure 7.

It is necessary that an SD analyze an entire tree from left to right without overlap and without gaps. It is not necessary for an SD to exhaust the tree in detail. X is thus a variable which covers (in no detail at all) all elements of the tree which occur between Subj and Tense. As long as the verb has a tense morpheme in verb final position and a third person subject in verb initial position, the rule will apply. The permutation moves third person subject affixes to the right of Tense as shown in Figure 8.

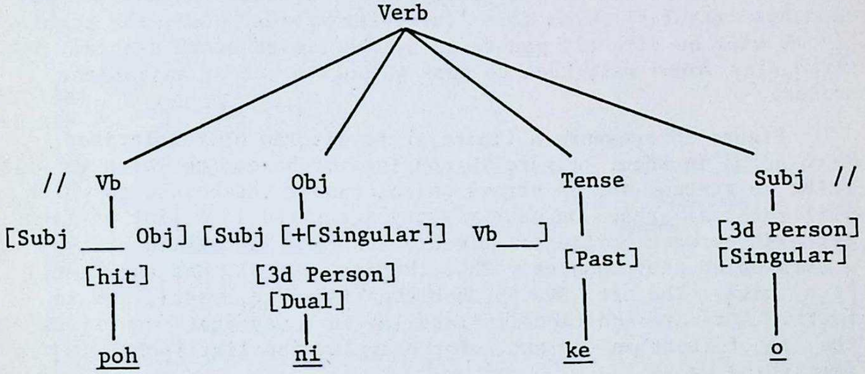


Figure 8.

Since Figure 8 has third person object as well as a third person subject, the SD for object affix permutation must be considered.

SD: // X , Vb , Object [3d Person] , Tense + Y //
1 2 3 4

As this SD applies to Figure 8, X is null, Vb is verb-initial, followed by a third person object, followed in turn by tense. Y covers the subject affix. The rule permutes the object affix to the left of Vb. The result of this derivation is the form, ni-poh-ke-o, which means 'He hit (the two of) them.' No other rules can apply.

In this same way the whole positive active past tense paradigm for the transitive verb in Kham can be derived. It seems unlikely that the lay reader would bother to consult this kind of grammar if he wanted to know what forms belong to this particular paradigm. This kind of description does offer the remainder of the grammar with an explicit mechanical way to generate the verb forms. In this sense the verb forms are nicely accessible to a mechanical grammar of the sort from which this was taken. The accessibility of the data to lay readers is considerably less than that offered by a conventional calendar.

2. Finite State Diagram

Since the Kham verb is finite both as to its length and as to the number of different possible verb forms, one is not absolute forced to operate in terms of devices more powerful than a finite state device. We shall attempt a solution that distinguishes 'regular' forms form 'irregular' forms. Only the regular forms will be directly generated by the finite state diagram. The irregular forms will have to pass through a set of adjustment rules.

Figure 10 presents a finite state diagram of regularized verb forms in Kham. Figure 10 consists of boxes, to which we will refer as states, and of arrows which connect the boxes, to which we will refer as arcs. On nearly every arc there is a list of items enclosed between horizontal lines. Arcs are identified by the states which they connect. Thus the arc, S0, S1, has the list, |poh, hit|. The arc, S4, S5, has the list, |ke, past|, and so forth. Arcs are additionally labelled in a way that identifies the set of items on the arc. For example, the list |poh, hit| is identified as VB.

To generate a form using Figure 10, one starts as state S0 and proceeds along any one of the three arcs leading from this state. Suppose we traverse the arc, S0, S1. In doing so we record one item from the list we pass through while traversing the arc. The arc, S0, S1, has only one item, thus we record the following:

poh
hit
VB

From state S1 we traverse the arc, S1, S4, and again we record one item from the list on the arc. We may thus elect to record the following:

poh	-	ni
hit		2s
VB		GOL

From state S4 we traverse the arc, S4 S5, and again record one item from the list on the arc:

poh	-	ni	-	ke
hit		2s		past
VB		GOL		TNS

From state S5 we traverse the arc to state S11, the terminal state, and record one item from the list on the arc.

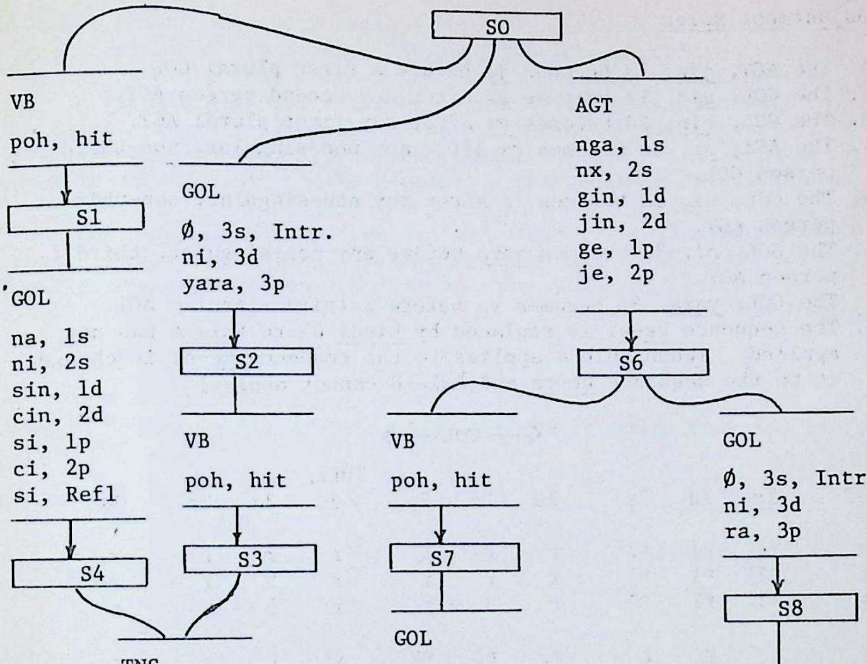

S0
VB
poh, hit
S1
GOL
na, 1s
ni, 2s
sin, 1d
cin, 2d
si, 1p
ci, 2p
si, Refl
S4
GOL
Ø, 3s, Intr.
ni, 3d
yara, 3p
S2
VB
poh, hit
S3
TNS
ke, past
S5
AGT
o, 3s
ni, 3d
rx, 3p
S11
AGT
nga, 1s
nx, 2s
gin, 1d
jin, 2d
ge, 1p
je, 2p
S6
VB
poh, hit
S7
GOL
na, 1s
ni, 2s
sin, 1d
cin, 2d
si, 1p
ci, 2p
si, Refl
S10
GOL
Ø, 3s, Intr.
ni, 3d
ra, 3p
S8
VB
poh, hit
S9
TNS
ke, past

Figure 10. Regularized finite state diagram of active positive, past tense transitive verb forms in Kham.

Constraints on Figure 10:

*1. Only one first person form can be chosen for any given verb.

*2. Only one second person form can be chosen for any given verb.

Adjustment Rules

1. The AGT, jin, 2d becomes je before a first plural GOL.
2. The GOL, sin 1d becomes si after any second person AGT.
3. The GOL, cin, 2d becomes ci after any first plural AGT.
4. The AFT, ni, 3d becomes rx after any non-singular, non-third person GOL.
5. The GOL, ni, 3d becomes ra after any non-singular, non-third person AGT.
6. The GOL. ni, 3d becomes yara before any non-singular, third person AGT.
7. The GOL, yara, 3p becomes ya before a third singular AGT.
8. The sequence ke-ni is replaced by ki-ni where Rule 4 has not applied. (When Rule 4 applies to the sequence ke-ni it changes it to the sequence ke-rx and Rule 8 cannot apply.)

<--- GOL --->

AGT	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	Intr/ 3s	3d	3p	Refl
1s	*1	*1	*1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
1d	*1	*1	*1	r	r	r	r	5	r	r
1p	*1	*1	*1	r	3	r	r	5	r	r
2s	r	r	r	*2	*2	*2	r	r	r	r
2d	r	2	1	*2	*2	*2	r	5	r	r
2p	r	2	r	*2	*2	*2	r	5	r	r
3s	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	7	r
3d	8	4	4	8	4	4	8	6,8	8	r
3p	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	6	r	r

Figure 11. Chart of irregularities in the Kham verb (active, positive, past tense). The starred numbers, *1 and *2 refer to the constraints on Figure 10 given on page 67. The unstarred numbers refer to the adjustment rules. Forms labelled 'r' are regular as generated by Figure 10.

At this stage in the derivation we have the following:

poh	-	ni	-	ke	-	o
hit		2s		past		3s
VB		GOL		TNS		AGT

which means 'He hit you.' This verb form happens to be regular and is correct as it stands. Not all forms generated by Figure

10 are correct, however, since Figure 10 fails to take account of irregular forms. In order to account for irregular forms we need the set of adjustment rules which is given at the top of page 68. In the Transformational description these irregularities were largely taken care of by the third part of the lexical entry, though the responsibility for constraints *1 and *2 was referred back to another part of the grammar in that mode of description.

Consider now a sample derivation of an irregular verb form in Kham. Suppose we begin by traversing the arc, S0, S6, and select the following form from the list on that arc:

jin
2d
AGT

Next we traverse the arc, S6, S7, with the following result:

jin	-	poh
2d		hit
AGT		VB

Next we traverse the arc, S7, S10, selecting the form, sin, 1d:

jin	-	poh	-	sin
2d		hit		1d
AGT		VB		GOL

Finally we traverse the arc, S10, S11, to complete the form:

jin	-	poh	-	sin	-	ke
2d		hit		1d		past
AGT		VB		GOL		TNS

To determine whether this form is regular or not we consult Figure 11. We look at the cell for 2d AGT acting on 1d GOL (which may be abbreviated as 2d > 1d) and find that the cell contains the number '2'. This indicates that the verb form we have just produced needs to be adjusted to its correct (through irregular) form by the application of adjustment rule 2. Rule 2 says to change sin to si. The correct form is therefore the following:

jin	-	poh	-	si	-	ke
2d		hit		1d		past
AGT		VB		GOL		TNS

For those who wish to experiment with Figures 10 and 11, the following is a list of forms against which results can be checked. In the left- most column the form is identified. The notation '1d > 3d' is to be read 'First person dual agent acts upon third person dual goal.' The left hand column of verb forms is a set of forms generated by Figure 10, The numbers between the two columns of verb forms refer to the adjustment rules which must apply to the generated forms to produce the correct (albeit irregular) verb forms. The right hand column gives the correct occurrent forms in Kham.

	Figure 10 gives:	Rule:	Correct form is:
1d > 3d	gin-ni-poh-ke	5	gin-ra-poh-ke
1p > 2d	ge-poh-cin-ke	3	ge-poh-ci-ke
1p > 3d	ge-ni-poh-ke	5	ge-ra-poh-ke
2d > 1d	gin-poh-sin-ke	2	jin-poh-si-ke
2d > 1p	jin-poh-si-ke	1	je-poh-si-ke
2d > 3d	jin-ni-poh-ke	5	jin-ra-poh-ke
2p > 1d	je-poh-sin-ke	2	je-poh-si-ke
2p > 3d	je-ni-poh-ke	5	je-ra-poh-ke
3s > 3p	yara-poh-ke-o	7	ya-poh-ke-o
3d > 1s	poh-na-ke-ni	8	poh-na-ki-ni
3d > 1d	poh-sin-ke-ni	4	poh-sin-ke-rx
3d > 1p	poh-si-ke-ni	4	poh-si-ke-rx
3d > 2d	poh-cin-ke-ni	4	poh-cin-ke-rx
3d > 2p	poh-ci-ke-ni	4	poh-ci-ke-rx
3d > 3s	poh-ke-ni	8	poh-ki-ni
3d > 3d	ni-poh-ke-ni	6,8	yara-poh-ki-ni
3d > 3p	yara-poh-ke-ni	8	yara-poh-ki-ni
3p > 3d	ni-poh-ke-rx	6	yara-poh-ke-rx

3. Analytic Matrices

Another approach to the presentation of the verb forms in Kham is that of analytic matrices. It is possible to summarize the active positive verb in Kham by means of a formula such as the following:

$$\text{Verb} = \text{Agt}_1\ \ \text{Goal}_1\ \ \text{Vb}\ \ \text{Goal}_2\ \ \text{(Aspect)}\ \ \text{Tense}\ \ \text{Agt}_2$$

The slash on the line connecting Agt_1 with Agt_2 indicates that only one of the two agent affixes can occur in any given verb. The choice of Agt_1 precludes the choice of Agt_2. The slashed line connecting Goal_1 and Goal_2 shows a similar mutual exclusion between the two positions for the goal affix.

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For each item on the right hand side of the formula it is possible to construct a matrix of forms. For the sake of brevity we will limit our description again to a single tense and will omit aspect. Analytic matrices as a generative device can be visualized as in Figure 12.

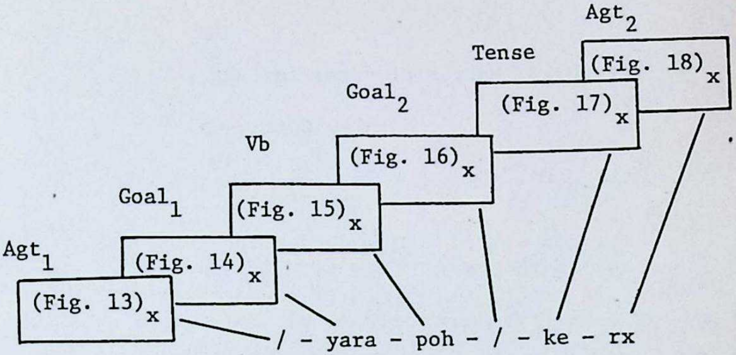

Figure 12. Analytic matrices as a generative device.

Each matrix has the same number of cells in the same arrangement as every other matrix. To generate a form, one selects a cell and simply copies out the contents of each corresponding cell in order (from front to back) as shown in Figure 12. In this scheme all forms are generated directly whether they are regular or irregular. The required matrices are presented in Figure 13 through 18 below. Asterisks mark cells which cannot be chosen. A slash in a cell indicates that there is no morpheme with that meaning in that position. Ø is used to indicate the zero morpheme. Parenthesized forms in a given matrix are forms for which an alternative form exists in a subsequent matrix. A parenthesized form may be chosen optionally. Forms enclosed in wedges are forms for which an alternative form exists in a previous matrix. If the corresponding form was chosen from parentheses in the previous matrix, the form in wedges cannot be chosen. If the parenthesized form was not chosen, the form in wedges must be chosen.

	<--- GOAL --->								
AGT	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s	nga	*	*	nga	nga	nga	nga	nga	nga
1d	*	gin	*	gin	gin	gin	gin	gin	gin
1p	*	*	ge	ge	ge	ge	ge	ge	ge

2s	nx	nx	nx	nx	*	*	nx	nx	nx
2d	jin	jin	je	*	jin	*	jin	jin	jin
2p	je	je	je	*	*	je	je	je	je
3s	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
3d	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
3p	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

Figure 13. Matrix of forms for Agt_1.

<--- GOAL --->

AGT	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1d	/	*	*	/	/	/	0	ni	ra
1d	*	/	*	/	/	/	0	ra	ra
1p	*	*	/	/	/	/	0	ra	ra
2s	/	/	/	/	*	*	0	ni	ra
2d	/	/	/	*	/	*	0	ra	ra
2p	/	/	/	*	*	/	0	ra	ra
3s	/	/	/	/	/	/	(0)	ni	ya
3d	/	/	/	/	/	/	0	(yara)	yara
3p	/	/	/	/	/	/	0	yara	(yara)

Figure 14. Matrix of forms for Goal_1

<-- GOAL --->

AGT	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s	poh	*	*	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh
1d	*	poh	*	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh
1p	*	*	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh
2s	poh	poh	poh	poh	*	*	poh	poh	poh
2d	poh	poh	poh	*	poh	*	poh	poh	poh
2p	poh	poh	poh	*	*	poh	poh	poh	poh
3s	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh
3d	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh
3p	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh	poh

Figure 15. Matrix of forms for Vb (the verb 'hit').

AGT	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s	si	*	*	ni	cin	ci	/	/	/
1d	*	si	*	ni	cin	ci	/	/	/
1p	*	*	si	ni	ci	ci	/	/	/
2s	na	sin	si	si	*	*	/	/	/
2d	na	si	si	*	si	*	/	/	/
2p	na	si	si	*	*	si	/	/	/
3s	na	sin	si	ni	cin	ci	⟨si⟩	/	/
3d	na	sin	si	ni	cin	ci	/	⟨si⟩	/
3p	na	sin	si	ni	cin	ci	/	/	⟨si⟩

Figure 16. Matrix of forms for Goal$_2$. Forms enclosed in wedges cannot be chosen if the corresponding form was chosen from parentheses in Figure 14. If no form was chosen in Figure 14, the wedged forms, ⟨si⟩ must be chosen from Figure 16.

<--- GOAL --->

AGT	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s	ke	*	*	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke
1d	*	ke	*	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke
1p	*	*	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke
2s	ke	ke	ke	ke	*	*	ke	ke	ke
2d	ke	ke	ke	*	ke	*	ke	ke	ke
2p	ke	ke	ke	*	*	ke	ke	ke	ke
3s	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke
3d	ki	ke	ke	ki	ke	ke	ki	ki	ki
3p	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke

Figure 17. Matrix of past tense forms.

AGT	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s	/	*	*	/	/	/	/	/	/
1d	*	/	*	/	/	/	/	/	/
1p	*	*	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
2s	/	/	/	/	*	*	/	/	/
2d	/	/	/	*	/	*	/	/	/
2p	/	/	/	*	*	/	/	/	/

3s	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
3d	ni	rx	rx	ni	rx	rx	ni	ni	ni
3p	rx	rx	rx	rx	rx	rx	rx	rx	rx

Figure 18. Matrix of forms for Agt_2.

Consider now a derivation using the analytic matrices of Figures 13 through 18. First we must decide upon a given cell to consult. Once we have decided on a given cell, we must be careful to consult *that* cell and *only* that cell in each of the matrices throughout the derivation. Failure to be consistent in consulting the corresponding cell in each matrix throughout a derivation will result in incorrect forms.

Suppose we decide upon cell 2d > 2d. This cell will yield a reflexive (or reciprocal). If we follow the procedure properly, the resultant form will mean 'We two hit each other.' Consulting Figure 13 we locate the cell 2d > 2d and find the form:

jin
2d
AGT

Consulting Figure 14 we find a slash in the cell 2d > 2d indicating that our form lacks $Goal_1$. Consulting Figure 15 we find the form *poh*, and we continue the derivation as follows:

jin	-	*poh*
2d		hit
AGT		VB

Consulting Figure 16 we find the form *si* in the cell 2d > 2d and we make the following addition to our derivation:

jin	-	*poh*	-	*si*
2d		hit		2d
AGT		VB		GOL

Consulting Figure 17 we find the form, *ke*, in the cell 2d > 2d

jin	-	*poh*	-	*si*	-	*ke*
2d		hit		2d		past
AGT		VB		GOL		TNS

Consulting Figure 18 we find that it has nothing to add to this and the derivation is complete. This form is the same as the form which results for 2d > 2d from Figure 10. It is an entirely regular form from the point of view of the finite state diagram that has been given. The analytic matrices we have presented here, however, do not require any special adjustments for irregular forms. The reader can easily convince himself of this by deriving the verb form 3d > 3d, yara-poh-ki-ne directly from the matrices. This form requires the application of two adjustment rules when it is derived from Figure 10.

4. Citation Matrix

For some purposes, the most accessible descriptive mode of all is the citation matrix as given in Figure 19. All forms are given directly and no derivational procedure is required at all.

B. Relative Accessibility of the Four Descriptive Modes.

The four modes of description are equivalent with respect to the forms they generate but they are not at all equivalent in terms of the access they provide to the forms and to the regularities that characterize the system. It is not the case that every descriptive mode is equally useful for all purposes.

1. Transformational Generative Grammar.

This descriptive mode offers excellent formal accessibility of morphological facts to the rest of the grammar of which it is a part. One of the primary virtues of this descriptive mode is the neat and explicit way in which it integrates with the rest of the grammar. Formal grammars as machines are designed to do certain kinds of computations easily and fluently. It would appear that what the lay reader can do with a grammar is quite different from what a formal theory or a computer can do with a grammar. This mode of description is probably not to be recommended for works addressed to the lay reader. It is relatively difficult to consult and it presupposes considerable theoretical background. Even given such a background, the morphological patterning is rather more difficult to ferret out of the lexical entries of TG than from a well laid out finite state diagram, an analytic matrix, or even from a citation matrix.

It should not be denied that important insights can be won and expressed in this descriptive mode, but the virtues which characterize this mode are those which the specialist can appreciate, while the weaknesses of its presentation devices are those that will frustrate the general lay reader.

<— GOAL —>

AGT	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s	nga-poh-si-ke			nga-poh-ni-ke	nga-poh-cin-ke	nga-poh-ci-ke	nga-poh-ke	nga-ni-poh-ke	nga-ra-poh-ke
1d		gin-poh-si-ke		gin-poh-ni-ke	gin-poh-cin-ke	gin-poh-ci-ke	gin-ra-poh-ke	gin-ra-poh-ke	gin-ra-poh-ke
1p			ge-poh-si-ke	ge-poh-ni-ke	ge-poh-ci-ke	ge-poh-ci-ke	ge-poh-ke	ge-ra-poh-ke	ge-ra-poh-ke
2s	nx-poh-na-ke	nx-poh-sin-ke	nx-poh-si-ke	nx-poh-sike			nx-poh-ke	nx-ni-poh-ke	nx-ra-poh-ke
2d	jin-poh-na-ke	jin-poh-si-ke	je-poh-si-ke		jin-poh-si-ke		jin-poh-ke	jin-ra-poh-ke	jin-ra-poh-ke
2p	je-poh-na-ke	je-poh-si-ke	je-poh-si-ke			je-poh-si-ke	je-poh-ke	je-ra-poh-ke	je-ra-poh-ke
3s	poh-na-ke-o	poh-sin-ke-o	poh-si-ke-o	poh-ni-ke-o	poh-cin-ke-o	poh-ci-ke-o	poh-ke-o*	ni-poh-ke-o	ya-poh-ke-o
3d	poh-na-ki-ni	poh-sin-ke-rx	poh-si-ke-rx	poh-ni-ki-ni	poh-cin-ke-rx	poh-ci-ke-rx	poh-ki-ni	yara-poh-ki-ni**	yara-poh-ki-ni
3p	poh-na-ke-rx	poh-sin-ke-rx	poh-si-ke-rx	poh-ni-ke-rx	poh-cin-ke-rx	poh-ci-ke-rx	poh-ke-rx	yara-poh-ke-rx	yaya-poh-ke-rx***

Figure 19. Citation matrix for the active transitive positive past tense verb poh 'hit' in Kham.

*Reflexive form is poh-si-ke
**Reflexive form is poh-si-ki-ni
***Reflexive form is poh-si-ke-rx

2. The Finite State Diagram

The finite state diagram requires somewhat less from the reader in the way of computation than does the transformational generative mode of description. It gives a visual grouping of similar items into substitution classes. It gives within a single diagram the alternative constituent structures of the various forms of the verb. It distinguishes regular verb forms in Kham from irregular forms. The effort required for derivation of forms is repaid by this kind of structural information regarding the forms. If all that the lay reader wants is a list of the forms, or simply some particular form, that information is probably most easily accessible in the citation matrix. If, however, the lay reader involved is interested in language learning, the finite state diagram highlights certain useful regularities which can be obtained from the citation matrix only be analysis. This descriptive mode has much to recommend it for descriptions directed at a non-specialist audience. It is at least a very useful supplement to the citation matrix.

3. Analytic Matrices

Analytic matrices require less of the reader than the finite state diagram in the way of computation. For the reader who appreciates having regular forms distinguished from irregular forms, this model has less to offer than the finite state diagram as presented in this paper. The relative usefulness of modes 2 and 3 will probably depend to some extent upon the nature of the language under description. From the point of view of the limited system exemplified here, analytic matrices allow the reader relatively rapid access to the surface verb forms while making the regularities of the system relatively less accessible to the lay reader.

4. Citation Matrix

This model requires no computation at all beyond that needed to locate the appropriate cell. The particular example of a citation matrix given here fails to identify the function of each of the morphemes, though in principal this information could also be included. For those who would like a rapid explicit statement of the regularities, this descriptive mode needs supplementation.

In conclusion we may say that no single mode of description satisfies all needs. In view of the needs of Nepal for solid linguistic description that is accessible to the lay reader, the linguist must be prepared to adopt a wide range of descriptive modes which go beyond the confines of any single formal theory.

FOOTNOTES

1/ The Kham data used in this paper were taken from David Watters, 1973. Watters and Watters, 1973 has the following to say about the name Kham:

> "Kham is one of the minority languages of Nepal belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family. It must not be confused with the Kham of Central Tibet spoken by the Khampas. According to Swadesh List comparisons, Kham is not closely related to any of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal in terms of vocabulary...
>
> "Kham is spoken in the Dhaulagiri and Rapti Zones of West Nepal. The villages are to be found along the upper tributaries of the Sani Bheri, Barigad, and Rapti Rivers on the southwestern flank of the Dhaulagiri massif...
>
> "Kham is the name of a language, and not the name of a people. The people who speak Kham are Magars belonging to the Bhuda, Gharti, Pun, and Rokha subtribes. Of these four subtribes, the Puns are the most famous, chiefly because of their great number of recruits in the British Gurkha Army. As a result, the name "Pun" is often used as a cover term to refer to all Magars belonging to the four northern subtribes. Most Puns, however, do not speak Kham at all; they speak Nepali, the lingua franca of Nepal. The greatest concentrations of Pun population are just to the south and west of the Thakalis, which is a considerable distance from the Kham speaking community. Nowadays, Puns make up only a small part of the total population of Kham speakers. In Taka and the neighboring villages, the population is almost exclusively Bhuda. Due to the inaccuracy, then of calling Kham speakers Puns, and to avoid the ambiguity of calling them Magars (Magar usually refers to the people of Palpa and southern Gulmi who speak the Magar language) we have come to use the term "Kham Magars" when referring to these people." (vii, viii)

In the roman transcription used here for Kham, the symbol "x" represents a mid central vowel.

2/ It may be useful to consider certain of the characteristics of calendars that make them so accessible to the user. First of all the calendar is very selective in the information it presents. It excludes all the computations upon which it is based. Given a calendar in its most common format the more commonly used correlations (such as the correlation between day of the week and day of the month) are immediately accessible without computation. The calendar as usually presented is not a rule-oriented device, nor a generative device at all. The average user is normally concerned only with a tiny fraction of the total calendar in any event.

Those who write the calendar must possess the algorithm for the generation of the infinite set of monthly calendars but they do not typically choose to burden the calendar user with this material.

Another important characteristic of calendars as they are normally presented is that they are unit-oriented. They consist of sets of ordered lists. The year, for example, is a basic unit in calendar construction. This unit has an empirical basis for its definition which may be stated somewhat as follows (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1961):

> "The time of one apparent revolution of the sun around the ecliptic; the period actually occupied by the earth in making its revolution around the sun..."

The units of which a calendar is composed are hierarchically organized. Thus, years group to form decades, centuries, and millenia. Years, in turn, are composed of months which are composed of weeks and days. The calendar for a given month may be viewed as having field structure. Along one axis of a monthly calendar we normally have the days of the week and along the other axis, the weeks of the month. In the cells we have numbers which represent days of the month. A given cell thus represents a correlation between a week of the month, a day of the month, and a day of the week.

Each of the major units of the calendar may be thought of as having at least a string constituent structure. Thus a year may be viewed as consisting of a string of twelve months. For a given user in a given locality, the twelve months of the year may be grouped in various ways for various purposes. In certain parts of the world there will be four seasons, each of which may be thought of as a unit of the calendar year. There is often skewing between units in such cases. In the United States the year begins in January. January, however, falls in the middle of winter. Any given calendar year will thus include parts of two different winters. No single winter will fall entirely within one calendar year. Similarly, in 1966 in the United States, winter ended and spring began on Sunday, March 20 at 8:53 p.m. Eastern Standard Time; spring ended and summer began on Tuesday, June 21 at 3:33 p.m. Eastern Standard Time; summer ended and autumn began on Friday, September 23 at 6:43 a.m. Eastern Standard Time; and autumn ended and winter began on Thursday, December 22, at 2:29 a.m. The boundaries between seasons in 1966 did not coincide with the boundaries between months, weeks, days, or even hours. As is clear from this example, however, the skewing of boundaries between seasons and other units of the calendar does not prevent the calendar user from finding the seasons quite useful as units of the calendar.

One might even liken the calendar to language in certain of its structural characteristics. Certain units of a calendar tend to take on slot-filler characteristics in a given culture. The functions which take place on a Sunday in certain countries is still somewhat distinct from those which take place on other days of the week. In Moslem lands, the Friday slot has fillers which are distinct from those for other days of the week. In Nepal Saturday is special in certain respects. Furthermore, certain days of the week are thought to be inauspicious for travel. The various days of the week take on meaning in terms of the kinds of activities that are either prescribed or proscribed for those days.

The computations required in order to locate certain functional slots in the calendar can be quite complex. Easter is the first Sunday after the first full moon that falls on or next after the vernal equinox (March 21 in the Gregorian calendar). If the full moon happens on Sunday, Easter is celebrated one week later. Easter Sunday cannot be earlier than March 22 or later than April 25. The dates of all other movable church feasts depends on that of Easter. Most users of the calendar are unaware of the computations required to locate Easter in any given year. They are quite satisfied simply to find it marked on the calendar one year at a time.

3/ On the centrality of syntax as opposed to the centrality of morphology see, for example, Fillmore, 1968, 3.

4/ It should be acknowledged here that the use of labels such as 'Subj' and 'Obj' is not exactly sanctioned by Chomsky, 1965. Chomsky, 1965 does not, however, deal with languages in which agreement with more than one syntactic relationship within the sentence is of consequence for the morphological shape of the verb. Kham is an SOV language. The relevance of a primary cut between NP and VP, where the NP immediately dominated by S is subject has yet to be clearly demonstrated. The use of such dominance relations in identifying agreement relations is probably more cumbersome than the simple labels employed in Figure 1. 'Subj' and 'Obj' can in any event be thought of as notational abbreviations for whatever the more correct representations might be.

5/ We assume that constraints on allowed reflexives in first and second person are taken care of in the first three steps. There is no provision in this sample list of lexical entries, for example, for preventing the generation of a verb form in which a first person singular subject acts upon a first person dual object even though such forms are not grammatical in Kham.

6/ I wish to thank Professor Joseph E. Grimes and Bill Leal for rekindling an interest in finite state grammars that had died after I read Chomsky's account of such grammars in Syntactic Structures. Worthwhile reading along this line includes a couple of manuscripts by Grimes; Winograd; 1971, 1972; and Woods, 1970, 1972; Woods and Kaplan, 1971. Their models are all considerably more sophiticated than the simple model sketched in this section.

7/ I wish to thank Professor Kenneth Pike for arousing my interest in matrices. Pike 1959, 1962, 1964, and Pike and Jacobs 1968 are helpful statements of the usefulness of the notion 'matrix' within Tagmemics.

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DISCUSSION ON

GRAMMARS FOR THE LAY READER

by

Austin Hale

Contributor 1

Dr. Ashok R. Kelkar

Man's nature is such that if you find yourself in an uncomfortable position you are happy to find someone else in the same uncomfortable position. I have been worrying about this problem for the last seven years - the problem of a mode of description which will be intelligible to the layman and at the same time which will not go against my conscience as a linguist. I was postponing this problem until about a year ago when I was asked to prepare a grammar of Marathi for Marathi speaking laymen.

Dr. Hale made an invitation towards the end of his paper to make comments about the specific modes he has offered. I am not going to accept the invitation for a very simple reason. When we say that this mode is better than that mode we have to specify a purpose and certainly there are laymen and laymen. For example, in preparing a Marathi grammar for Marathi speakers the solution need not be the same as a Marathi grammar for say, Hindi or English speakers. So, instead of keeping a series of descriptive modes on display as in a cafeteria it would be better to provide an evaluation calculus with the help of which any given model (and think there are many more than these 4 presented) can be evaluated properly. I am going to suggest three such principles for evaluating models from the point of view of lay presentations, that is, exoteric presentations rather than esoteric presentations which one linguist makes to another linguist. First, in understanding language linguists make use of three polarities (a) form and meaning (b) item and rule (as mentioned in my paper) (c) system (which consists of items and rules) and the actual use of the language (which consists of texts). The three principles I shall present have to do with these polarities but since time is limited I cannot go into all the reasons behind them. They are:

1. A mode of description is likely to be more accessible to the layman if it is item-favouring rather than rule-favouring. For example, look at Dr. Hale's citation matrix. In a transformational model the items are the small units and in the citation matrix the readymade forms are given which are stated as products

of the system. What he has done here is to treat them as items, given items, instead of ready made products. This point has been treated very well by Bloomfield in an article called "Meaning" in Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht. Bloomfield points out that if we have irregular and messy formations it is much simpler to present the forms as ready made forms rather than to create an apparatus of rules.

And to give a case, a notorious case, George Trager for example arrived at a notoriously complex system for getting the simple English pronominal paradigm: 'I me my mine, he him his' and so on. He tried to analyze 'him' into 'he' and 'm', and say that the 'm' is the same as the 'm' in 'them' and so on. Bloomfield said why not simply give the forms as ready made, give them as items rather than make rules about them? So my first principle is that the layman's grammar should be item-oriented rather then rule-oriented.

2. A layman's grammar should be form-oriented rather than meaning-oriented. This is because forms are more accessible, more 'inspectable', than menaings.

3. It should be use-oriented rather than system-oriented (this is related to the second principle) because a layman is not interested in the system for its own sake but because it will enable him to use it more effectively.

LINGUISTIC HISTORY*

RELATIONSHIP IN LANGUAGES

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The number and variety of languages and dialects of India attracted the attention of 19th century British civilians who set about meticulously sampling, cataloguing and christening these varieties; ever since the publication of those monumental volumes by Sir George Grierson, 'Linguistic Survey of India', the mere number of languages and dialects ('872') on this sub-continent has assumed the status of a myth. The historical continuity and topographical continuous shading off from one language to another and the preservation of similar forms and similar development in the languages of the Indo-Aryan speech communities in India are sometimes lost sight of when the myth of variety is raised again and again.

Language in Orissa, with more than two thousand years of separate independent existence, is strikingly similar to that of Gujarat or Maharashtra. No one could demarcate neat linguistic zones (despite various 'boundary commissions') on such a continuous linguistic terrain. Languages of different families have existed side by side, and pockets of Munda languages in Indo-Aryan speaking areas or pockets of Indo-Aryan languages in Dravidian speaking areas are not unknown, but they have not hampered the continuity of linguistic regions.

* Comparative data are mainly from Sir Ralph Turner's Nepali Dictionary (London 1931) and Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages (London 1963-66), Sir George Grierson's 'On Indo-Aryan Vernaculars' reprinted from Indian Antiquary vols. LX-LXI-LXII (Bombay 1931-1933). Thanks are due to D.P. Pattanayak for allowing me to use his 'A Controlled Historical Reconstruction of Oriya, Bengali, Assamese and Hindi' (Mouton and Co., 1967); I have used his data for Oriya, Bengali and Assamese; Shri Krishan Sharma for supplying data from Bangru. Some data are in phonemic transcription; conventional symbols are used, following the Nepali Dictionary. č and ǰ indicate Marathi dental affricates.

Abbreviations are according to the Nepali Dictionary.

Historically, the Indo-Aryan languages can be traced back to a speech community whose earliest document is Rigveda. The present descendants of this speech include Gypsy dialects spoken in Europe and Asia, Dardic dialects of Hindukush, N.W. frontier provinces and Kashmir, Sinhalese in Ceylon and Western and Central Pahari, Eastern Pahari - Kumaoni and Nepali, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Bihari, Hindi, Panjabi, Lahanda, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi. The nomenclature of these languages should not be confused with any territorial boundary, but it should only be interpreted in terms of linguistic features which have successively split the one speech-community into many speech-communities.

Variations are visible in any speech community; complete uniformity is a fiction. The reasons for variations are not far to seek, they are inherent in any human society: all members of a society do not communicate verbally with each other in equal proportions; the varying densities of communication may be caused by different factors, such as geographical distances; varying occupational and social differences also determine the amount of verbal interaction between individuals and groups of individuals. The amount of verbal interaction determines the amount of similarities of speech habits; more interaction brings about more similarities and less interaction results in fewer similarities. The results of this process are visible in sound changes. If, in a speech community, one group employs one phoneme where the other group employs two phonemes, it is symptomatic of a break in the chain of communication in the speech community, and we presume that one speech community has split into two speech communities; the relation - of similarities and differences - between the two communities are statable in terms of regular correspondences between the one phoneme of one group and the two phonemes of the other group.

A phonemic change is taken as synonymous with a language split; phonemic changes in the old Aryan speech-community chronologically presented may give a picture of the chain of relationships through which the present languages have passed. Thus, when we speak of -nt->(i) -nt- and (ii) -nd-, and when -nd- development is noticed in Dardic, Pahari, Panjabi, Lahanda and Sindhi, we group these languages as a sub-group vis-a-vis, the -nt- group; this sub-group is proto-Dardic - Pahari - Panjabi - Lahanda Sindhi -; we would prefer to give it a wider geographical nomenclature such as proto-NW, because the events we are dealing with are phonemic splits, not linguistic nomenclature (e.g. the language name Lahanda did not exist before Sir George Grierson christened it).

The north western group shares the following innovations:

i) nasal + voiced stop > a single nasal in Dardic, Sindhi and Pahari and a double nasal in Panjabi and Lahanda, e.g.

Sk. kāṇḍa- S. kānu(arrow), P., kānnā, L. kanna, Pah. N kā̃ṛ H. kā̃ṛi, G. kā̃ḍū, M. kā̃ḍ, A. kā̃r, B. kā̃ṛ, O. kāṛ, Si. kaḍaya, K. kā̃ḍ, Dar. Ash: kaṇ, Kho: kan.

Pk. raṁḍā - S. rana, P. rann, L. rann, Pah. N: rā̃ṛi, ku: ran, H. rā̃ḍ, M. rā̃ḍ, A. rā̃ṇḍi, B. rā̃ṛ, O. rāṇḍa, K. raṇḍ.

ii) nasal + voiceless stop > nasal + voiced stop, e.g.:

Sk. kaṇṭaka - S. kaṇḍo, P. kaṇḍā, L. kanda, Pah. W. Pah. Khas: kaṇtạ̄; N. kā̃ṛo, H. kā̃ṭā, G. kā̃ṭo, M. kā̃ṭā; Ko: kāṇṭo, B. kā̃ṭā O. kāṇṭā, Si. kaṭuva, K. koṇḍu, Dar. Gy. Eur. kanro.

Sk. pāncāšát - S. pañjāha, P. pājāh, L. pañjāh, Pah. W. Pah. Bhal: panja; N: pacās, H. pācās, G. pacās, M. pannās, B. pañcās, P. pañcāsa, Si. panas, K. pancāh(but, panzaha - 'made of 500 threads').

Sk. šṛṅkhalaḥ - S. saṅghara, P. saṅgal, L. sanglī, Pah. Ku: sāṅgle; N. sāṅlo; H. sā̃kal, G. sā̃kaḷ, M. sā̃khaḷ, A. xikali, B. sikal, O. sāṅkoḷi, Si. sakilla, K. hō̃kal, Dar. Sh: sanāli.

Sk. dánta - S. dandu, P. dand, L. dand, dād, Pah. Ku. N: dā̃t (< dā̃d in N. dā̃de), H. dā̃t, G. dā̃t, M.dat; Ko: dantu, A.dā̃t, B. dat, O. dānta, Si. data, K. dand, Dar. Pas: dan(d), Kho: don; Tor: dan, Gy. Eur: dand.

Sk. vaṁšá - S. vañjhu, P. vañjh, bañjh, L. vā̃jjh, vajh, Pah. N. bãs, H. bā̃s, G. vā̃s, M. Ko: vāso, A. bā̃h, B. bā̃s, O. bāūsa, Si. vasa.

Original conjunct or double consonants are not simplified in Western Panjabi or Standard Lahanda, and this applies to nasals also; Sindhi simplifies the consonant clusters (see iii below). Pahari dialects do not show this correspondence regularly because they are heavily influenced by Southern (i.e. Hindi, Bihari) dialects by the eastward migrations of the Pahari speakers whose early habitat was NW. (For the Khas (Sk. Khaša-) migrating eastwards see Grierson, LSI ix - 4 p. 8 and Turner, ND xiii).

The chronology of the two changes is apparent:

(i) must have worked out before (ii).

(iii) Vowels in closed syllables retain their quantity in NW; this is a significant change in the syllabic structure, thus, v̌cc>v̌c or v̌cc and v̄cc>v̄c(v = vowel, c = consonant). Elsewhere, both v̌cc develop v̄c, except in Singhalese where both, the vowel and the consonant, are shortened. Pahari does not share this innovation with the other members of the NW group; apparently by the time this innovation takes place in the NW group, the Pahari dialects have moved away to the east, and share the v̌cc, v̄c>v̄c change with the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages - e.g.:

Sk. rakta - S. rat, P ratt. L. ratt, rat, Pah. N. rāto, H. rātā O. Awadhi rātā, G. rātū, M. rātā, A. rātā, B. old Maith. and Middle Bengali rātula; O. ratā, Si. rata, K. rat

Sk. cakrá - S. caku, P. cakk, L. cakkar, Pah. N. cāk; H. cāk, G. cāk, M. cāk, A. sāk, B. cāk, O. cakā, caka, Si. saka, K. cakhuru, Dar. Sh. Gil. carku;

Sk. vyāghrá - S. vāgh, P. bāgh, Pah. N. bāgh; Ku. bāg; H. bāgh, Guj. vāgh, M. vāgh, A. bāgh, B. bāgh, O. bāgha, Si. vaga.

Sk. kāṣṭha - S. kāṭhu, P. kāṭh, L. kāṭh, Pah. N. kāṭh, H. kāṭh, G. kāṭh, M. kāṭhī, A. kāṭh, B. kāṭh, O. kāṭha, Si. kaṭa, K. kaṭh. Dar. Sh. Gil. kāṭ, Gypsy - Eur. kast.

Sk. rātrī - S. rāti, P. rāt, L. rāt, N. rāt, H. rāt, G. rāt, M. rāt, A. rāti, B. rāt, rāit, O. rāti, Si. raya, K. rāth.

Subsequent splits in the NW group:

Dardic languages separate from the NW (and the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages) by

(i) retaining intervocalic consonants,
(ii) different treatment of conjunct consonants,
(iii) different treatment of sibilants - mainly retention, as against merger into one in other members of NW and the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages.

Dardic group retained the distinction between sibilants (cf. Kharosthi inscriptions), e.g.

Kashmiri: (i) sat (sapta-), as (āsya-);
(ii) šěh (ṣaṭ), šurah (ṣoḍasa-); but
věh (viṣa-).
(iii) hir (širah), wuh (vimšati), ruhun
(lašuna-).

Shina: (i) sat (sapta-), sī (sena-),
(ii) ṣoi (ṣoḍasa-),
(iii) šū (švāna-, suna-), but āṣu (asru-) saṣ
(švašru-), sā (švāsa-) where the sibilant originally formed a part of a consonant group.

Kati: (i) vasut (vasanta-)
(ii) šī (šītā)
(iii) ušā (ausadha-)

Torwali: (i) has (has-)
(ii) daša (dašan),
(iii) seitš (ṣoḍasa-), tiš (trsā-)

European Romany: s and š < s and ṣ
Asiatic Romany: s < s, ṣ and š < ṣ
Armenian Romany goes with Prakrit (i.e. all merged in one s).
The voiced sibilant is found in Dardic and Kafiri -:
-s->-z- sporadically in
Tirahi: spaz (švāsā), Shina āzu (āsya), haz (has), diz (divasa-).
Comparable to this is the fricatisation of MI palatals in Dardic dialects, e.g:
Sh: daz, K.daz- (dahyate), Sh.cuz (chidyate), maza (madhya-), K.zal- (jvalaya-), wopaz (utapadyate).

(iv) None of the Dardic languages retain aspirated stops (except in the case of jh>z), e.g.:
guru (ghoṭaka-), bozi (budhyate - bujjhai), budu (vṛddha-) bod (buddhi-), bāyu (bhrāta-).

Kashmiri voiceless stops in final positions are always aspirated, thus, Kashmiri displays an alternation between aspirated and unaspirated stops in paradigms such as:

	Base	Nom.sg.	Dat.sg.
'blood'	rat-	roth	ratos
'sunshine'	tāp-	tāph	tāpas
'glass'	kāts	kātsh	kātsas
'a ram'	kaṭ-	koṭh	kaṭos
'a certain measure'	trak	trökh	trakas

(v) Distinction between dentals and cerebrals is not maintained in Dardic; (the descriptions are not very clear about whether the stops are alveolar).

On the whole, languages of the Dardic group come considerably under the influence of neighbouring Iranian dialects; the last two features (iv and v) are noticeably comparable to features of Iranian dialects. Kashmiri later on has come under strong Indian influence because Kashmir became a centre of Sanskrit learning in the middle ages.

Further splits in the NW group:

Of the remaining languages of the NW group, Sindhi and possibly some dialects of Lahanda, especially southern Lahanda and Khetrani dialects, are separated by

(i) initial voiced dentals and medial clusters of voiced dentals cerebral suction stops; the only voiced dental survival is in the -nd- group; moreover, the voiceless dental is cerebralised before r; thus, dentals are rare in Sindhi (somewhat comparable to Dardic languages), e.g.:

ɗakhinụ (dákṣiṇa), ɗandu (dánta-), koɗari
(*kuddāla-), saɗu (sabda-); ṭre (triṇi).

(ii) initial voiced stops g-j-ḍ-b- and intervocalic groups of geminate voiced stops which in Middle Indian were assimilated as -gg-, -jj-, -ḍḍ-(-dd-), -bb-(vv-) develop as suction stops (otherwise called implosives); old Indo-Aryan voiced stops g,j,d,b are not retained in Sindhi, e.g.,

ɠaro	(gúŕu)
bhāɠo	(bhagná-)
jiɓha	(jihvā)
aʄu	(adyá-)
ḍeh	(dešaḥ)
ɓāɗho	(baddhah)

Sindhi later on spreads further southwards (into the island of Kutch) and Kacchi separates from it by the loss of final short vowels ɩ, ʊ, and ə which are retained in Sindhi. The morphlogical oppositions such as:

nəkʊ nose n.sg. vs nəkə noses n. pl.
are lost in Kacchi because of the loss of the final short vowels.

Panjabi separates from the NW by the innovation of tones in Panjabi; the three tones of Panjabi are:

`low onset followed by a higher pitch,
ˏrising onset followed by the same pitch,
-mid level tone (mid level tone is not marked in the following data)

(i) chv ->cv̀ - if the initial consonant is voiced:

ghara ->kàr
dhārā ->tàr
bhukk ->pùkana
ghaṭṭ ->kàṭana

Non-initially, if the consonant is voiced aspirate
-vch->v́c:
e.g., vyāghará̦- > bā́g
sandhyā́ > sánj.

In case of words with old prefixes, the voiced aspirate is devoiced and the following vowel has a low tone, e.g.

adharma - > atàram
abhāgya - > apàgga,
nirbhāgya - > nirpāg
In some dialects of Panjabi, initial h - >`.
hasta - hatth (Ludhiana), but
hatth (Wazirabad)

(iii) As stated earlier, Panjabi and some dialects of Lahanda retain geminate consonants. The history of these languages of the NW group is not reflected in the later classical literature of India, Prakrit or Pali. Though some of the features are reflected in Ashokan and Kharoshthi inscriptions as well as some fragments of Prakrit literature unearthed in NW regions (e.g. Prakrit Dhammapada from Chinese Turkestan), it would be true to say that the major features by which the languages of the NW group are separated and successively split are not reflected in classical Prakrits or Pali; it is only by a comparative study of observed dialects that we can reconstruct the history. On the other hand, though it is only by the application of the comparative method that we can get a clear picture of groups and subgroups of the Indo-Aryan language family, the classical Prakrit and Pali literature reflects the major changes in the linguistic history of the Eastern-Western and Midland regions; the chronology and topology of the changes are blurred, but the classical literature helps in as much as it reflects the stages in the development. In view of this, one may say that the NW group is Sanskritic, while the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages are Prakritic.

The second major split, after the NW split, is the separation of the Eastern group consisting of Proto-Bengali-Assamese and Oriya; they share the following innovations:

(i) short and long i/ī and u/ū merge into single phoneme i and u respectively; in the dialects immediately west to this group, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi, and also further West, Awadhi, the length distinctions are retained.

(ii) a in the initial syllable (or in an open syllable) >ɔin this group; this feature is also shared by Maithili:

vadhu->bɔhu, sama->sɔn-
sarva->sɔb-, madhu>mɔhu.

(iii) There is a vowel assimilation in all the three languages of this group by which, generally, high vowels are lowered if they are followed by low vowels in the next syllable. Each language in the group has its special rules of assimilation and morphophonemic alternations, with Bengali and Assamese sharing some alternations, thus forming a sub-group.

In Oriya, mid vowels are lowered before low vowels and low vowels are raised before high vowels within a word; vowels are also lowered in the neighbourhood of retroflex consonants. Assamese has ɛ- e, o - u and o - ɔ alternations and Bengali has morphophonemic alternations between pairs of high-low vowels i-e, e-ɛ, u-o and o-ɔ. e.g.:

MIA		O	A	B
vanka	'crooked'	ƀɔnkā	bɛkā	bɛkā
cūs-	'to suck'	cusibā	suh	cosā
chuv-	'to touch'	chuībā	so	choā
suṇ-	'to hear'	suṇibā	xun	sonā
chagaḷ	'goat'	cheli	sāgɔli	chāgol

A further split in the Eastern group separates Oriya from proto Bengali-Assamese. The following innovations are shared by Assamese and Bengali:

(i) retroflex nasal ṇ and dental nasal n, retroflex lateral ḷ and dental lateral l, fall together and develop as n and l respectively.

(ii) ḍ and ḍh fall together medially and become ḍ; this ḍ subsequently falls together with r in medial position in Assamese.

(iii) the sibilants fall together as š in Bengali, initially to x and medially to h in Assamese. In Oriya, the sibilants merge to s (similarly, also in the Bihari dialects and other western and midland dialects they merge to s).

These common innovations form a sub-group Bengali-Assamese which is separated from Oriya. Later on, Assamese separates from Bengali by the following innovations:

(i) ḍ, ḍh, r merge to r in intervocalic position in Assamese

(ii) s had become x initially and fallen together with h medially; now c and ch fall together as s, and j and jh fall together as z.

(iii) retroflex and dental stops fall together as alveolar stops. The following exemplify the innovations in this sub-group and its split:

MIA		O	A	B
maccha-	'fish'	mācho	mās	māch
sappa-	'snake'	sāpɔ	xāp	sāp
haḍḍ-	'bone'	hāḍɔ	hār	hāḍ
dādh	'jaw'	dāḍhi	dāri	dāḍi
jibbha-	'tongue'	jibhɔ	zibhā	jib
gal-	'neck'	gɔḷa	gɔḷ	gɔla
sassua-	'mother-in-law'	sāsu	xāsu	sāsudi
sassura-	'father-in-law'	sɔsurɔ	xɔhur	sosur
jaḷ-	'to burn'	jɔliba	zɔl	jolā
*cari-	'four'	cāri	sāri	cār
satta	'seven'	sātɔ	xāt	sāt
koḍi	'twenty'	koḍie	kuri	kuḍi

The language of Bihar, Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili cannot be included in this sub-group which is separated by the innovations discussed above. Though v->b- and -vv->-bb- are shared by Awadhi, Bihari and the Eastern group, the relationships are somewhat remote.

Sinhalese has separated earlier; developing outside India and surrounded by Dravidian speech, its development is different from the rest. Loss of aspirates in Sinhalese can be compared to the lack of aspiration as a distinctive feature in the Dravidian languages. Like the Dardic dialects, the developments in Sinhalese also are not discussed here in any detail.

The separation of the midland group from the western and south-western group is marked by the following changes:

(i) allophones of s before front vowels and y develop to š and s is split into two phonemes s and š (by the loss of final short vowels) in Gujarati and Marathi.

It is possible that Gujarati had retained the original š before front vowels and y in which case the secondary development of contrast between s and š is peculiar to Marathi and Konkani only.

Sk	G	M	K
šikṣā	šikh	šikṇē̃	šiktā
šītala-	siḷū̃	šeḷā	šeḷi
šimsapa-	šisam		
siddha-	sidhāvvū̃		
sindūram	sindur	šēdur	šindūru
sin̄cati	sī̃cvū̃	šic	
sidhyati	sijhvū̃	šijṇē	šijtā
sivyate	sivvū̃	šivṇē	šivvaytā

(ii) Vowel length ceases to be distinctive in most of the dialects of the western and south-western group, while it is retained in the midlands. In the remote dialects of south-western group such as Konkani, length seems to be distinctive in some varieties, especially those which are contiguous to Dravidian speech communities (where length is distinctive).

(iii) Retroflex and dental nasals ṇ and n and laterals ḷ and l fall together as n and l in the midlands while they are retained in the western and south-western group; some dialects in Rajasthan show a merger, but they may be due to later influence of the midlands. Similarly, in some dialects of western Hindi and Braj, n-ṇ contrast is noticeable in transitional areas. During the later development in the midlands, western Hindi spreads as a standard form over a vast variety of dialects, including Bihari dialects, Awadhi, Bagheli, Bundelkhandi, Kanauji, Braj and Bangru; it also spreads as a standard in the Panjabi and Rajasthani speaking regions.

Marathi - Konkani separates from the Gujarati - Rajasthani group by the following innovations:

(i) ch>s (and chi>ši) in Marathi and Konkani,

(ii) Middle Indian affricates c and j split as dental and palatal affricates in Marathi. The dental affricates occur before a and ā, u and o, while the palatal affricates occur before i-e, Thus, Marathi has dental affricates in čəṭka (bite) čāṭṇe (to lick) čunā ('lime'), čor ('thief'), ǰər ('if'), ǰal ('flame'), ǰunā ('old'), ǰogi ('ascetic') and palatal affricates in civḍa (a variety of snacks), cēṇḍu ('ball'), jiṇē ('to live') jibh ('tongue') etc.

Standard Marathi has lost the nasalization of vowels when the following consonant is voiceless, e.g. ã̄t>āt ('inside'); in the case of a following voiced consonant, the nasal consonant remained with a lengthening of the preceding vowel e.g., čānd (Sk. candra-).

A further split in the dialects of Gujarat - Rajasthan is indicated by:

(i) MIA ai>ɛ and MIA au>ɔ in Gujarati; together with this development, the lower varieties of nasalized e and o of the earlier period now belong to the ɛ and ɔ phonemes.

(ii) development of a set of murmured vowels in place of earlier vowels in the neighbourhood of -h-. Murmured e and o are lowered and they merge with the lowered ɛ and ɔ phonemes.

The contrast between e-ɛ and o-ɔ is neutralised in final position of polysyllabic words, e.g.:

Sk.	MIA	G	M
kapaṛda-	kaüḍḍiā	kɔḍi	kavḍi
kavala-	kavaḷạ	kɔḷiyo	kavaḷ
gavaksa-	gaukkha	gɔkh	gavakh
catuṣka-	caukka	cɔk	čauk
pratha-ma-	pahilla-	pɛhlo	pahilā
kapitta-	kavaṭṭha	kɔṭhũ̄	kavaṭh
*mrd-illa-	mailla-	mɛlũ̄	mailā

(iii) short i and u in open syllable merge with a or zero in Gujarati, e.g.

MIA		G	M
milai	'meets'	maḷe	miḷṇẽ̄
khirai	'trickles'	khare	khirṇẽ̄
guṇai	'counts'	gaṇe	guṇṇẽ̄
chura-	'knife'	chari	surā

Data in the various dialects of west, south-west and midlands are yet to be sorted out and analysed systematically, and the sorting out of the above changes in Marwari, Harauti, Jaipur, Malvi, Movati, Bhili and Gujarati on the one side, and Hindi, Braj, Kanauji and Bundeli on the other, would give a clearer picture of the split of the west from midlands; at the same time, relationship and splits within the south-western group can be picture of the split of the west from midlands; at the seme time, relationship and splits within the south-western group can be better stated after the data from various Bhila dialects adjacent to Marathi, standard Marathi, Konkani and various dialects of Konkani are available.

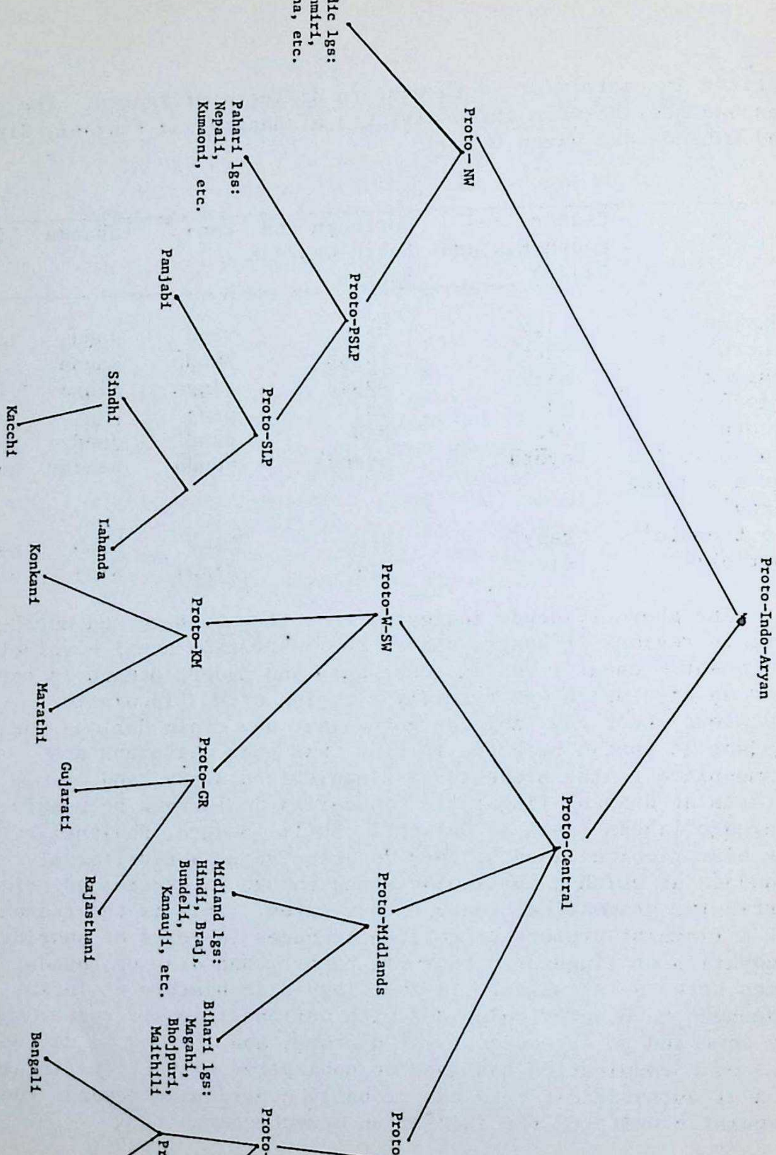
The above groups and sub-groups of Indo-Aryan languages are based on the assumption that a phonemic split in a speech community implies a break in the chain of communication and is symptomatic of a language change. But there are other factors also which contribute to language change. Continuous movement of population, sometimes wholesale migration (such as Sindhi in the modern period, and forms of Gujarati and Marathi in medieval periods when large communities of those speakers migrated south and gave rise to 'Tanjore Marathi' in Tanjor and 'Saurashtri' in Madurai), continuous bilingualism along the transitional zones such as between Panjabi - Hindi, Gujarati - Malvi, Bhili - Gujarati, Khandesi - Marathi, Konkani - Marathi, have given rise to variagated patterns of grammatical structure.

Relic areas in the speech communities indicate earlier features being swamped by other features due to the expansion of the latter; this phenomenon can take place across language groups. A typical example is the modern Bangru spoken in Hariana; Bangru belongs to the western and midland group rather than to the NW group, but the relic areas in Bangru clearly indicate that the features by which NW separated from the rest were also current in the area occupied by modern Bangru. Later on, this area came under the influence of the western and midland groups which crowded out the earlier NW traits; these traits are now visible in pockets of the Bangru area as forms.

Northern and north-western regions of Bangru, mainly Karnal and Jind districts, are such relic areas. As we have seen earlier, one of the main features by which the Proto-NW group (which includes Dardic, Pahari, Panjabi, Sindhi and Lahanda) separared from the rest was the change of nasal + voiceless stop > nasal + voiced stop. This change is also noticed in the northern dialects of Bangru (also known as Khadri dialect); it is not noticed in eastern or south-western dialects of Bangru. The correspondences between these dialects of Bangru and Panjabi, Sindhi and Lahanda are given below:

	Eastern and South-Eastern Bangru	Northern and North-Western Bangru	Panj.	Lahanda	Sindhi
'divide'	bā̃ṭy	bā̃ḍy	vaṇḍ	vaṇḍ	vaṇḍu
'thorn'	kā̃ṭṭā	kāṇḍā	kaṇḍā	kaṇḍā	kaṇḍo
'curved'	bā̃kkā	bāŋgā	viŋgā	viŋgā	viŋga
'five'	pā̃c	pā̃j	paɲj	paɲj	paɲju
'teeth'	dā̃t	dā̃d	dand	ḍand	ɗ̣andu
'subscription for a wedding party'	nyōtā	nyondā	neūdā	nendar	neṇḍro
'to tremble'	kā̃py	kā̃by	kamb	kamb	kambu
'sprinkle'	sī̃cy	sī̃jy	siɲɲj	sinj	siɲje

The above evidence indicates that the northern and north-western regions of Bangru shared the innovation nasal + voiceless consonant > nasal + voiced consonant, and modern Bangru is spread over an area which was formerly a region of NW linguistic features. Lest any language enthusiast may claim Hariana for Panjab, it should be borne in mind that such phenomena are commonplace to the students of linguistic history, and no efforts at drawing linguistic boundaries could ever be meaningful. Language labels (such as Gujarati, Bhili, Bangru, Bhojpuri etc.) are historical accidents, they do not give us a territorial boundary at which a particular sound-change is barricaded or a particular grammatical feature terminates. This is the reason why a linguist prefers to relate languages in terms of sharing and innovation of linguistic features rather than draw up boundary lines between languages. In the linguistic history of India, languages have never coincided with nationalities or races, which may come and go as accidents of history, and the day to day business of communication has gone on unhampered without the intervention of authorities; this has probably contributed towards the linguistic unity of the Indo-Aryan speech-community.


Proto-Indo-Aryan
Proto-NW
Proto-Central
Dardic lgs:
Kashmiri,
Shina, etc.
Proto-PSLP
Proto-W-SW
Proto-Midlands
Proto-Eastern
Pahari lgs:
Nepali,
Kumaoni, etc.
Proto-SLP
Proto-KM
Proto-GR
Midland lgs:
Hindi, Braj,
Bundeli,
Kanauji, etc.
Bihari lgs:
Magahi,
Bhojpuri,
Maithili
Proto-OBA
Sinhalese
Panjabi
Sindhi
Kacchi
Lahanda
Konkani
Marathi
Gujarati
Rajasthani
Proto-BA
Oriya
Bengali
Assamese

DISCUSSION ON

LINGUISTIC HISTORY

Relationship in Languages

by

Prabodh B. Pandit

Contributor 1 Dr. D.P. Pattanayak

I think it is important that in Nepal, while developing linguistic studies, due attention should be given to the historical study of languages. Historical reconstruction or comparative reconstruction gives evidence not only for the historical relationships of languages but also for migrations and the placement of undated manuscripts.

Contributor 2 Dr. H. Purcell

We should be grateful to Professor Pandit for drawing attention to the importance of diachronic linguistics. In recent years the fashion has been to concentrate on synchronic linguistics. The study of the history of language and the description of language must be inter-related.

Speaker's Reply

It is correct to say that the history of language and the description of language are both significant and inter-related tasks. In particular, dialects cannot be studied and language and dialect surveys cannot be done without the perspective of time. What is seen on a diachronic scale can be seen in synchronic description in terms of real time and apparent time. Hence we cannot separate these two sides of linguistics very much.

Contributor 3 Dr. B.M. Dahal

I would like to raise the question of time-parallelism. Is there any time parallelism between the Sanskrit - Prakrit - Apabhramsa stages and the modern types of Languages?

Contributor 4 Dr. K.P. Misra

I would like to know whether your divisions co-incide with the classical divisions of Prakrit, Šourseni, Paišaci etc. or not?

Mr. A.P. Pradhan

Contributor 5

The Regvedic Sanskrit is complicated in word-building and structure, but Pāli and Prakrit (in which Lord Buddha spoke) are very simple and smooth. I want to know if Sanskrit came from Pali or vice versa?

Speaker's Reply

The main question concerns Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhramsa and their relationship to this way of looking from a historical point of view. It must be made clear that when I disregard the Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhramsa scheme of things in the comparative picture, it does not mean that the evidence supplied by all these languages has less significance for me. What I have presented is the evidence which emerges from observing present day languages. Dissimilarities in the present day languages have to be explained in a reasonable way. In explaining them we have to set up sub-groupings and the order of changes. After that we go back to the recorded evidence and see how far the changes have been reflected in classical, literary languages.

Now, what is the situation regarding Pali, Prakrit etc. as against the modern Indian languages? The Pali and Prakrit literature we have is more or less uniform. There are very few regional differences to be found in Pali, Prakrit or Apabhramsa. Certain grammarians, though, like to make differences between Šourseni Prakrit, Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit and so on. But in fact there are very few differences and they can be described in a few lines. These languages are literary languages in the same way as Sanskrit. I am not ready to believe that Pali is a simple language or that Prakrit is a simple or people's language etc. Historically or chronologically they are, of course, at stages after Sanskrit. They are successive pan-Indian literary languages. After this period of pan-Indian literary languages was over modern Indian languages became regional literary standards.

When the text books say that Hindi is derived from Šourseni Prakrit, Marathi from Maharastri Prakrit or Bengali from Magadhi Prakrit, what they are saying - if we interpret them correctly - is not so very different from us. There is a belief that for every modern Indian language there must be a corresponding Prakrit or Apabhramsa, even though in the available literature there is only one Apabhramsa - largely, and one Prakrit - largely, and one Pali etc. But they (the authors of the text books) are aware, of course, that modern Indian languages are different. They try to explain this by assigning for every region a corresponding Prakrit, even though Prakrit is represented only by a standard literary form. But how would these changes have taken place? A speech community speaking one language develops certain changes because of some barriers in communication e.g. on one side /k/ is pronounced as /k/ and on the other side /k/ is pronounced as /g/ and one assumes that now the community is split into two. And this sort of thing is how successive changes have brought the difference in the language.

The other question is - what is the relation of these languages (Pali, Prakrit etc.) to those on the tree? I mentioned in my paper that the north western languages here are not reflected in Prakrit at all. For example, the fact of nasal plus voiceless consonant becoming nasal plus voiced, which is one of the major changes which separates these languages, is not reflected in any Palis or Prakrits, nor are changes such as the retention of vowel quality with the simplification of the consonants, or the development of implosives and retroflections of Sindhi. So, I have said elsewhere - in a lighter way - that if you at all want to use the terms Prakrit, Pali etc., you will have to say that the north western languages are Sanskritic languages and the other languages are Prakritic languages because the features of Pali and Prakrit are reflected in them and not in the north western languages. This can also be validated historically. After the Asokan period the political and cultural powers shifted from Vaishali in the East to Kanauj in the West. At that moment you find that most of the literary languages, such as Prakrit, are largely based on standard varieties in the western zone. And they have reflected to a certain degree features which are found in the languages of the Western and Southwestern subgroups. Even Pali reflects more features of the West because even in Pali tradition the texts were edited in the West later on.

Dr. B.M. Dahal

Contributor 6

1. I am interested to see that Nepali is placed in the north western group. I, working with Dr. Kelkar, also placed it there I would like to be enlightened on the controversial placing of Nepali sometimes in one group and sometimes in another.

2. Broadly speaking we get two types of Indian languages: those such as Hindi which are 'a' type languages and those such as Nepali, Bengali, Gujarati which are 'o' type languages. Perhaps the speaker could say something about this.

Mr. T.N. Sharma

Contibutor 7

We have been taught that Nepali is derived from, or split from, Sourseni Prakrit, with Hindi and Rajasthani. But your tree shows Nepali on one side of the branch whereas Hindi and Rajasthani are on the other side. Could the speaker enlighten us as to how it is that Nepali seems to be more akin to Gujarati, Rajasthani or Hindi than with the Dardic and other languages of that branch of the tree in which it has been placed.

Speaker's Reply

The reason for the instinctive feeling that Nepali shares features with languages other than the North Western group or vice versa is explained by my earlier argument that the picture (the comparative tree) is only partial. It must be remembered that languages, though belonging to one subgroup, may share the same changes with other subgroups because of migration and geographical contiguity. I have mentioned in my paper that though Nepali belongs to the north western group, the speakers of Nepali have moved away from their original north western habitat and gradually migrated towards the sub-Himalayan valley regions, eventually coming in contact with the languages of northern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, especially Hindi and Maithili; Nepali, thus, shares a number of features with these languages also. These layers and stages in the history of the Nepali language present an important problem deserving some attention.

TRANSCRIPTION AND ORTHOGRAPHY*

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Speaking and Writing

The primary and most natural form of language is the spoken form. It is that form which we produce by means of our vocal apparatus and it is that form which we perceive with our ears. When the sounds of spoken language are represented by means of visual graphs and when these graphs are used as an instrument of communication a language becomes a written language. The relationship between the spoken and written form of a language is usually somewhat arbitrary. Every written language has its own orthography. Just as the relation of the sound of word to its meaning is abitrary and conventional, so often the relation of the pronunciation of a word to its orthographic representation is arbitrary and conventional. The linguistic system of a language includes the system of sounds (phonology), the system of writing (graphonomy), the system of words and their meanings (lexicography), and the system of sentences and their parts (grammar).

We find three kinds of writing systems in use among the languages of the world today. In the logographic system of writing, each symbol represents a word, or at least a meaningful part of a word. Chinese employs a logographic writing system. In a syllabic writing system each symbol represents a syllable. Devanagari is an example of syllabic writing system. Roman is an example of an alphabetic writing system. Orthographies or spelling systems tend to be very conservative. Once spelling has been somewhat standardized pronunciation will often change much more rapidly over time than spelling will. Generally, the older the spelling system is the more complex, arbitrary and irrational it becomes with respect to the pronunciation system of the language. As pronunciation changes over time the phonetic value of individual symbols in the spelling system will change as well. They can change in type altogether. The Chinese script is logographic, but when borrowed in part by Japanese the result was a syllabic script.[1]

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* I am most grateful to Dr. Austin Hale for his assistance in writing this paper.

An orthography, whatever it may be, was invented at some time in the history of a particular language. Languages themselves, however, were probably not invented in the same way as their writing systems were. The origin of a language is a very different kind of thing from the origin of a writing system. The first is a process intimately involved in the whole development of human social interaction and the second is an event in the history of a language. Once an orthography has been established and standardized, it tends to be handed down from generation to generation unchanged. As the orthography departs more and more from the sound system of a language, speakers must invest more and more effort in learning to spell and read, but curiously enough once a person has mastered such a system he seems to have a vested interest in maintaining it intact. Furthermore, radical spelling reforms, in English for example, would tend to cut new readers of the language off from materials written before the reform. In one sense, the older the spelling system the worse it becomes as a phonological representation of the language but the greater the value of the system in terms of the body of literature which can be approached only through the spelling system.

When a linguist begins describing an unwritten language he needs some set of graphic symbols for representing the sounds of that language. A representation of an unwritten language in terms of such phonetic symbols is called a transcription. Though transcription and orthography both are secondary forms of the language, transcription presupposes that the transcriber has heard the actual speech. We cannot imagine a transcriber to be deaf but on the other hand the deaf can write. In this sense writing does not presuppose speaking.

A transcription is not necessarily an exact record of that which was spoken. Rather, it is a record of that which the transcriber heard. In the act of transcribing, the linguist performs a considerable amount of analysis. Linguists trained in phonetics can recognize, classify and transcribe the whole range of sounds that can be produced by the human vocal tract. Their training is valuable in detecting the variation that occurs in a given sound from time to time, from place to place and from individual to individual. From the point of view of the absolute physical data, no one ever repeats exactly the same sound twice. Some kinds of variation can be detected only by the trained phonetician and sometimes only with the help of sophisticated laboratory instruments. This kind of variation is largely irrelevant for communicative purposes. Some kinds of variation detected by the trained phoneticians can be represented by means of narrow phonetic transcription. In a phonemic transcription, variations in a single contrastive sound are ignored and only those differences in sound which signal distinctions in meaning are preserved in transcription.

The phonetic data are transcribed with phonetic symbols. Phoneticians have devised whole sets of symbols for use in phonetic transcription. The International Phonetic Alphabet (PIA) is one example of such a transcription scheme. IPA sombols have been revised several times in the light of recent development in phonetics. Though a Devanagari Phonetic Alphabet has been devised by Indian scholars, the transcribers prefer to use a standard phonetic alphabet such as the IPA for representational adequacies. Phonemic data are transcribed in phonemic transcription. In common linguistic parlance each of the distinctive sounds that must be distinguished within a given language is called a phoneme. Only such distinctive sounds are represented in phonemic transcription. In the Nepali word डांडा 'hill' for example, the two ड letters represent different sounds, that is they are phonetically different, but phonemically they are not different. They never stand in contrast in the same position within a word. After studying the phonemic system of a given language a linguist will be able to reduce the language to writing. In other words the phonemic analysis of a particular language provides a way to the linguist to invent an orthography for that language. However, while deciding the orthography for any language several other factors have to be kept in mind.

Linguists are social scientists. Their primary duty is to describe the linguistic systems. They serve society, they do not govern it or dictate to it. If a society is already making use of a certain orthography, the linguists will probably not have a great deal of success in changing the writing system even if it is difficult to learn. If present Chinese and English orthographies were replaced by phonemic orthographies these languages would be extremely easy for the readers. But it is not possible to do so. It is easy to introduce an orthography for an unwritten language, and minor changes and reforms in existing orthographic systems can be made, but to change a traditional orthography by replacing it with a new one is a difficult task.[2]

Devanagari

Devanagari is one of the most wide-spread branches of Brahmi now used to write the Nepali, Newari and Maithili languages of Nepal, and Hindi, Marathi, Sanskrit, Prakrit and several other languages of India. Because of printing facilities and numbers of readers other languages of South Asia also use Devanagari though they may also have their own scripts. On the grounds of technical difficulties some scholars suggested that Devanagari should be replaced by Roman for Hindi in India. After the independence of India a common script for all the languages of India was also sought. However, Devanagari is increasingly popular in several language areas. For Nepali, in addition to Devanagari, Roman orthography has been used for several years in the British Gorkha Army. Meerendonk (1960) says that the orthography was devised by him for the use of the army. It was adopted officially and has proved successful. The Purbate, a magazine of the British Gorkha soldiers, is published in Malaya in both Roman and Devanagari orthography.

Nepali in Devanagari script is the national language of Nepal. Newari and Maithili, two other important languages of Nepal also use Devanagari at present though they have also had their own scripts. The linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have studied the phonologies of several unwritten languages of Nepal and orthographies of these languages are being prepared. Proposals by Glover (1971), Schottelndreyer (1974) and Toba (1974) show that Devanagari can adequately represent these Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. Toba has remarked that the native speakers of Khaling prefer Devanagari even though the ex-Gorkha solders have had the experience of reading Nepali in Roman orthography. Schottelendreyer feels that although the Tibetan script would be equally feasible for Sherpa, Devanagari is preferable because it greatly facilitates the process of learning to read Nepali after the new reader has gained fluency in reading Sherpa.

Linguists have encountered several kinds of problems in adopting the Devanagari script for use as an orthography for previously unwritten languages. Some languages have vowels and others have consonants which are not easily represented in Devanagari. So, for the glottal stop of Chepang and the secondary cardinal vowels of Khaling some arrangements must be made. The problem of orthographic constraints in the writing of consonant clusters in Devanagari is well discussed in Gordon (1972). He warns that unpronouncable clusters of graphs should be avoided.

Nepali Orthography.

Though the earliest written record of Nepali dates to 1321 A.D. in the form of copper plate inscriptions, the necessity for a uniform standardized orthography was felt when the Nepali language entered the press age. Gorakhapatra (1901) and Gorkhe

Khabar Kagat (1901) both followed the halant system. The first native grammarian of the Nepali language, Mr. Birendra Keshari Aryal (1906), was probably the first man who knew the phonological and morphological problems of Nepali. Ram Mani A.D. (1908) announced his idea of halant-bahiskar, or not using the halant sign, as a publisher-editor of Madhavi (1908) in Benares and held his view of halant-bahiskar till his death in 1972. His views are well expressed in the famous lines of poet laureate Lekhnath Paudyal: "The high stony fence walls fell down like the leg-cut letters by the Nepalese poets."[3]

Though his idea was clarified in Gorakha Vyakarna Bodha (1913) of Vishwa Mani A.D., Lekhnath and others left the company of Ram Mani A.D. after Pande's Chandrika was published (1913, the first volume is dated and the subsequent volumes are not dated). As Pande was a royal priest his grammar got royal sanction and his spelling was recommended for official writing and for use in education. Ram Mani himself had to follow the rules of Chandrika during his tenure of office as the head of Gorakha Bhasha Prakashini Samiti during the years 1913-1932. But personally he did not give up his ideas. All of his books are spelt in his halant-bahiskar system. On the other hand the halantists urged that their own system of writing was near to the pronunciation and that the halant-bahiskar was unnatural.[4] For some years a cold war existed between the two groups. Many scholars stopped writing altogether since if they followed either system they would offend the adherents of the other system. Sama (1953) remarked that the war between the halantists or leg-cutters and non-halantists took on a communal colour too. The grammar of the non-legcutters was called the grammar of the easterners (Purbiyas) as opposed to the grammar of the westerners (kumains) who were the leg-cutters. (Grammar in this context means the spelling system, since the grammar of that time was confined within the limits of the spelling system.) As Pradhan (1970) mentioned a situation parallel to this existed in Darjeeling at the beginning of 20th century as the Roman Catholic Mission practiced the non-halant system and the Protestants used the halants. Afterwards Pradhan was engaged in educational activities and published his grammar of Nepali (1920) based on the principles of Pande's grammar and the Nepali writing system of the Darjeeling area was standardized.

Around 1933 Nepali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti (NBPS) published a small booklet as a guide for correct spelling, nepali kasari suddha lekhne? (How to write correct Nepali?). It was written and issued under the chairmanship of Bal Krishna Sama. In 1942 it was published with the note that in examinations educational institutions should follow the rules of the booklet. After that the rules of spelling included in the booklet were known as the grammar of Samiti or the Rules of Samiti. Though the grammar of Nepali was not discussed in the booklet, the reader could assume from its title that it contained every thing one needed to know about how to write correct Nepali. This was misleading since the main emphasis in the booklet was on spelling and also on solving certain spelling problems on the basis of grammatical categories. Even now, the main area of the native grammarians remains the area of orthography. Teachers of the Nepali language focus on teaching correct spelling. A spelling mistake is considered more offensive than a grammatical mistake.

Although the purists (Jharrobadi) were mainly concerned with the purity of Nepali vocabulary and with the elimination of superfluous loan words, they also paid serious attention to the problem of Nepali orthography. Addressing Phulpati, a local literary magazine of Kathmandu, T.N. Sharma (1964) wrote a letter suggesting spelling reforms for Nepali. He suggested that the orthography should be made alphabetic. The magazine had a regular column on spelling reform and, as a linguist and the editor of Phulpati, Pokharel (1964) opined that an alphabetic Devanagari would be suitable for Nepali. Nagendra Sharma's letter to Phulpati (1964) also claims that an alphabetic Devanagari is easy for typists. But, surveying Pokharel's proposal, Clark (1969) remarked that the suggestions "abound in anomalies and will create more problems than they solve." He thinks that the "outstanding problem of Nepali orthography is multiple spellings and this could be solved by a simple process of consistent selection, and without doing violence to the Devanagari script."

Pant's (1959) proposal for spelling reforms urge for consistency in the rules and the removal of anomalies. Acharya (1973) proposes a phonetic orthography for Nepali with insights derived from Sanskrit phonetic theories. His book, as that of Dixit (1972), presents good examples of the spelling systems he proposes. Other eminent scholars, such as Mahananda Sapkota, and Surya Bikram Gyawali also deviate from the current standardized practice. But these are not considered serious deviations.

Recently the Royal Nepal Academy formed a language- grammar sub-committee to think over the problems of the Nepali language. It is known that the committee has discussed the possibilities of revising the existing grammar and spelling system. In 1972 Sajha Prakashan, the successor of NBPS, arranged several meetings of Nepalese scholars to discuss the possibilities of the revision of the booklet nepali kasari suddha lekhne? The problems of Nepali orthography were discussed and suggestions were put forward. The reports of these latest attempts have not yet been published.

Problems of Nepali orthography.

Despite several attempts at solutions the problems of Nepali orthography are still left unsolved. One finds lots of mistakes in the spelling, word divisions and punctuation in printed newspepers, magazines and even in text-books. The condition of written or typerwritten texts is worse. One does not find the standard spelling adhered to in official writings either. The reason seems to be that the rules for Nepali spelling are not consistent and easy. In this section of the paper we will discuss the problem of Nepali orthography under three major headings: (a) Phoneme-grapheme correspondence, (b) Word divisions and (c) Punctuation.

(a) Phoneme-grapheme correspondance. Linguists are in favour of phoneme-grapheme correspondence. After a phonemic analysis has been completed for a given language, it is possible to assign a graph to each phoneme. The vowel phonemes of Nepali are /i/,/e/,/a/,/∂/,/o/ and /u/. The consonant phonemes of Nepali are /p/,/ph/,/b/,/bh/,/t/,/th/,/d/,/dh/,/T/,Th/,/D/, /Dh/,/c/,/ch/,/j/,/jh/,/k/,/kh/,/g/,/gh/,/m/,/n/,/ng/,/r/,/l/, /s/ and /h/ↄ. Each vowel has its nasalised counterpart. There are enough symbols in the Devanagari script to assign one symbol to each of the phonemes listed above. In this sense, the Devanagari script is entirely adequate for a phonemic representation of Nepali. As Devanagari is now used to represent Nepali, however, a number of graphs in Devanagari are used to represent more than one phoneme of Nepali and there are single phonemes that are represented by more than one graph in Devanagari. The full forms of vowels and the matras as their counterparts, the full forms of consonants, the conjuncts and the halantas add even further complexity to the Devanagari representation of Nepali.

Problems arise when we represent a phoneme by means of several different graphs. Different forms of the consonant graphs of syllabic Devanagari, modified to show the absence of the inherent vowel, tend to confuse the readers. They look sometimes like the full forms but actually they are the halant forms. There are also several conjunct forms which cannot be represented in typing and printing. The use of several graphs for a phoneme also results in multiple spellings. Clark (1969) thinks that this is a serious problem in Nepali. Most people make the mistake of using more than one graph in representing a single phoneme. Some of the phonemes of Nepali are represented in several different ways as listed below. We have ommitted here the halant and conjunct forms of the consonant graphs.

/i/ इ, ई, ि, ी, यि, यी, ै(अ+इ), ऐ (अ+इ) य (इ+अ)

/u/ उ, ऊ, ु ू,व

/ng/ ङ, ं

/n/ न, ं रा

/b/ ब, व

/m/ म, ं

/y/ य, ए, (ये), ज्ञ (ग्+यं)

/w/ व, ओ

/s/ स, ष, श

/ch/ छ, दा (छ्+य । छ्+ए)

/ri/ ऋ, ृ,रि

Most Nepali words are written according to their phonemic structure. Various anomalies of the spelling of Nepali orthography are gradually disappearing. According to the standard spelling rule borrowed words should be written as they are in the original language. So, श (called a "fat s") and स (called a 'thin s") are used in some words of English, Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit origin. Now the use of स has become common and accepted form. But scholars of Sanskrit think that the Sanskrit words should be written as they are in Sanskrit. However, Acharya (1970) suggests that the spellings of the Sanskrit words could also be changed to conform to the pronunciation of Nepali. It seems to me that the most popular words of Sanskrit in common use in Nepali should be included in a dictionary together with common loan words and spelt consistently according to the Nepali system of spelling. The dictionary could be revised after every five years and new loan words included. If the rules for spelling Nepali are made simple and consistent it would be useful to have them appended to the dictionary as well.

If the problem of spelling Sanskrit loans in Nepali is solved in a way that harmonizes with the spelling of navite Nepali words, the spelling system for Nepali could be quite simple. For consistency, the rules for using short-long vowel graphs in Nepali also need revisions. The criteria that the word final /i/ and /u/ of the words of masculine gender should be short and feminine gender should be long, and that the indeclinables should be short and adjectives should be long is baseless. In writing some adjectives both forms of vowels in word medial position are allowed. But if emphatic length is represented for /i/ and /u/ allowing both forms ठुलो 'big' and ठूलो 'very big^6 - we have also to envent symbols for कालो 'black' and काऽलो 'very black', सेतो 'white सेऽतो 'very white'^{7}

Because the Devanagari is a syllabic script, its simplest form represents a consonant plus a vowel. The absence of the inherent vowel is shown by putting a diagonal slash beneath the consonant symbol, called a halant. It appears, however, that the consistent use of the halant leads to odd-looking forms. Hence one finds that the halant is often omitted in the places where it would be needed for a correct representation of the pronunciation. It is not difficult for a reader to know where the inherent vowel is omitted. But while writing, it is difficult to determine whether the leg should be cut or not. The most common example is the question श्री मान्को खुट्टा काट्नु पर्छ 'Should I cut sir's leg ?'

(b) Word-division. What to join and what to separate is an equally important problem in Nepali orthography. Morphologically Nepali has developed from the synthetic to the analytic stage. Rana (1962) gives a detailed description of word-division. While giving the rules for word-division he has taken the word-meaning as a unit and the words which mark the syntactic cases and numbers are joined, even though they are separate words morphologically. Sometimes the same word is joined or separated according to its function. This can be exemplified as follows:

घर माथि छ ।	' The house is up there.'
घरमाथि फर्सी छ ।	' There is a pumpkin on the house'

The case of the verb phrases are different. The verbs and the auxiliaries are joined together in some cases and in other cases they are separated. Thus, खानेछ 'would eat' is joined and खाने थियो 'would have eaten' is separated. In other cases over-differentiation exists because of analysing the data in isolation. Many grammarians have written खाइहाल्यो and खाई हाल्यो as two separate phrases. They give the meaning of the first phrase as 'ate up' and the second phrase as 'after having eaten something put something.' It seems to me that the first phrase is not possible in any real context. The problem of word division is most crucial at present, because in order to write Nepali sentences one has to master the grammatical categories, grammatical functions and syntactic meanings. T.N. Sharma (1964) suggests that the morphlogical word in Nepali should be written separately, because Nepali is not a synthetic language as Sanskrit is. It has developed its analytic nature and this can be better represented by separate words.

(c) Punctuation. In traditional writing it is common to find sentences which are several lines long. Even now, legal documents are written in complex sentences of several lines. Much attention to punctuation is given on printed materials. In writing only a few good writers have good command of punctuation. Most of the punctuation marks which are in common use in English and in the various Indian language are also used in Nepali. In some of the books printed during first few decades of the 20th century a full stop (.) or a vertical line (l) is used as the sentence marker. For marking paragraph boundaries two vertical lines (ll) are also found in some written documents. In the speech of Juddha Shumshere on the pillar erected at Bhugol Park (1938) a full stop is used as the sentence marker and a vertical line is used for paragraph marking. Whether paragraphs need to be marked in this way or not seems to me to be more a theoritical question than a practical one for Nepali orthography.

FOOTNOTES

1/ Linguists such as L. Bloomfield and W.P. Lehman agree that Japanese is a syllabic script. Furthermore, Lehman (1962) also remarks that the Japanese writing system is most complicated today.

2/ In Turkey the traditional Arabic writing system was replaced by Roman in 1928.

3/ This is a tentative translation. The original lines read as follows:

हेरि नशकनू पारी परखाल बडे बडे,
नेपाली कविले खुट्टा काटेका वर्ण फै, लडे ।

4/ Sama (1953) says that the leg-cutter Shikharnath used to tease the non-leg cutters saying" घटमा गएर फटट भटटलाई ल्याऊ म परखिरहन्छु"

5/ This is according to Bandhu, C.M., B.M. Dahal, A. Holzhausen and A. Hale (1971). An alternative interpretation may add /y/ and /w/, specially when the written language is considered.

6/ Other examples of the alternative spellings because of emphatic length are: अमिलो, अमिलो;, पिरो, पीरो; अलिकति, अलीकति; नुनिलो, नुनीलो

7/ The length mark is used in Nepali poems written in metres.

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DISCUSSION ON

TRANSCRIPTION AND ORTHOGRAPHY

by

Churamani Bandhu

Contributor 1

Dr. Ashok Kelkar

I have to disagree with the speaker when he says that Devanagari is a syllabic writing system. In my opinion, and I am by no means alone in this opinion, Devanagari is an alphabetic writing system.

Contributor 2

Prof. P.B. Pandit

It would be useful to distinguish between writing systems, orthographies and spelling rules. Writing systems are basically one of the three: logographic, syllabic and alphabetic. A writing system could be expressed in a variety of orthographies, e.g. the alphabetic writing system is expressed in the Roman orthography, in the present Devanāgari orthography, in the older Brāhmi orthography and the present orthography of Arabic and Persian etc. etc. Within each orthography, each language has its own spelling rules e.g. the spelling rules of English, French, Italian etc. within the Roman orthography; the spelling rules of Hindi, Marathi, Nepali within the Devanāgari orthography.

Different theories of phonology (i.e. structural, generative) may interpret differently the abstract levels underlying the written forms; I am not, at present, discussing these differences of approaches. What I have in mind is the common confusion created by spelling reformers between the orthography of a given language and the spelling rules of the language. Spelling rules can be unique for each language (as phonological systems are unique for each language), while orthographies may be common. Take for example Marathi and Hindi, both languages have the same orthography but the spelling rules are different: in Marathi, a nasalised vowel followed by a voiceless stop is written with a nasal sign on the vowel, e.g. दांत [dãt] 'teeth' but it is pronounced without the nasalisation [dat] (conversely if the following consonant is voiced, the vowel remains nasalised e.g. [ãba] आंबा 'mango'); till now, in the spelling rules of Marathi, it was obligatory to mark the nasalisation in the spelling (recently, the spelling without the nasal sign is accepted as an optional spelling). In Hindi however, the spelling rules keep the nasal vowels and oral vowels strictly apart. The other example, where many a school grammar has confused this issue, is the marking of consonant without 'a' (the halant sign e.g. सात 'seven', which is pronounced [sat] rather than [satə]). Now, the language can have a spelling rule that all the final consonants are unreleased and do away with the rather cumbersome halanta (i.e.सात); the rules of elision of prefinal 'a' also can be formulated (there must be rules, because no native speaker makes a mistake in dropping the 'a' or in retaining the 'a' as the case may be). These are the issues of rules of spelling.

Though Sanskrit and Nepali employ the same orthography, the spelling rules of the languages could be different. Thus when the word ममता occurs in a Sanskrit lexicon its pronunciation has to be specified as [məməta] but when the name ममता happens to be used as a noun in Nepali it will be pronounced [məmta] and its pronunciation in the lexicon has to be specified as [məmta]; Sanskrit has its own spelling rules, and Nepali has its own spelling rules; Nepali may choose not to use the halanta, and rely on its own spelling rules.

Choice of orthography and spelling rules are sociolinguistic issues also, hence this clarification.

APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Towards Bilingual Education Programs for Nepal

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1. Introduction
2. Applications of linguistics
3. Linguistics and reading
4. Literacy and elementary education in multi-lingual societics
5. The linguist's contribution

1. Introduction

The main title of this paper was given to me by the seminar organisers. The sub-title is my own, as is the slant of the paper. Elementary education, and more particularly the teaching of reading and writing in non-literate societies, is the only aspect of applied linguistics in which I feel in any way able to contribute.

Hence this paper consists of a brief outline of the ways in which linguistic science may be applied to the world at large. It goes in rather more detail into a discussion of reading and reading pedagogy, and from thence to consider the problems and possibilities of elementary education programs among minority language groups.

2. Applications of linguistics

Linguistics can be useful in four main ways: the provision of language data, the teaching of language skills, the application of theory, and the changing of attitudes.

i. Provision of data

The most obvious function of linguistics is to provide data about languages. For individual languages, this data comes in the form of dictionaries and descriptions of the phonological and grammatical systems. These can be used either simply to preserve for posterity information about languages which are dying out or changing, or by those wishing to teach or learn a language. While linguistic descriptions do not feed directly into classroom use -

they are normally too technical and abstract for the average learner - the type of information about the language's system which they provide is necessary for the production of adequate teaching materials.

In a wider field, comparative linguistic studies can provide data about the similarities and differences between the dialects and languages that exist side by side in a country, and thus feed into language planning programs. Contrastive studies are of use to language teachers and those preparing pedagogical materials. Though this type of analysis information is produced about the interference that may result between the base (known) language of the learner and the target language (the language to be taught), and hence pinpoints areas on which teaching may need to concentrate.

ii. Teaching language skills

The phonetic and analytical skills needed in linguistics to correctly transcribe and present language data can themselves be of practical use in language learning, particularly where the learner needs to be his own teacher. This situation often applies where anthropologists or government officials need to go and communicate with the inhabitants of an area where a major language is not widely known, and there are no available materials on the local language.

In this situation, where the outsider must be able to 'pick up' the language solely by his own efforts, training in basic linguistic skills can smooth the often frustrating process. A knowledge of phonetics sharpens the ear and helps in the production of hitherto unused sounds. Training in analysis, whether phonological or grammatical, opens the mind to the diversity of language and some of the possibilities of language systems, and gives a tool for producing order out of seeming chaos and a means of faster language acquisition than the piecemeal method of the untrained mind.

iii. Application of theory

Linguistics is not just a process of collecting and ordering data, and the skills associated with this. It is based on several highly developed schools of theory, each with its own emphasis and ideas about the nature of language. Each has its own contributions to make to the understanding of the processes of producing and comprehending language, whether oral or written.

On the oral side of language, linguistic theory relates to the language teacher and person preparing the teaching materials. Not only must they be able to use linguistic data, but an understanding of the underlying processes involved in both language production and acquisition can guide in choosing the most effective way of teaching and understanding the problems pupils may have. For many people, applied linguistics and language teaching are synonymous, since this is the field (outside of university teaching) that involves the largest numbers of linguists and in which the most published material of practical application has appeared. The development of TESL (The Teaching of English as a Second Language, or TEFL: the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language) programs particularly, and the training of teachers in these programs, has focussed the attention of both educators and interested governments on the function of linguistics in the field of language teaching. It is normal that teachers in these programs have at least a basic knowledge of linguistics. Here in Nepal there are moves to increase the amount of linguistic training given to language teachers, as evidence of which is the three month course for teachers of the English Instructional Committee sponsored by INAS, which is shortly to get under way.

The need for adequate TESL programs here in Nepal is obvious, but I do not think the effort should stop there. Teachers and writers of textbooks for other languages also need training. In particular, in this country where Nepali is the mother tongue of only half the population, I can foresee the development of TNSL (the Teaching of Nepali as a Second Language) programs! Since in many areas children come to school knowing only a smattering of Nepali, or none at all, it would be advantageous both to these children and to the cause of nation-wide literacy to aid their progress towards gaining adequate command of Nepali by special classes. This is a field of endeavour in which I can foresee future Nepali linguists being most usefully involved, and I will refer to it again in Section 5 of this paper.

On the written side of language, theoretical knowledge also helps in understanding the processes involved in the complex and fascinating skill of reading. Section 2 deals with this in more detail; but before turning to this, I must mention one more aspect of the applications of linguistics which is often overlooked, but can nevertheless be quite significant.

iv. Changing of attitudes

This, as the title to this paragraph suggests, is the way in which knowledge about languages influences the way we look at these languages, and in turn, the people who speak them. (In a reverse process, the study of the attitudes that groups within the population have to the languages around them is also highly useful. This, however, lies within the field of sociolinguistics, another large field with which I will not attempt to deal in this paper.)

We have all met the uninformed attitude that holds that, because a particular group of people is economically unadvanced ('backward' or 'primitive'), then these people are also intellectually sub-standard or even stupid, and in turn their whole culture is primitive and sub-standard. This attitude is often apparent in comments about the language of such a people: "They only have five or six hundred words!" (because the language does not have equivalents for some areas of words in the outsider's culture, and he has not become aware of lexical complexities in the 'primitive' language which his own language does not possess); or "You never know if they're talking about the present or the future!" (distinctive tense morphemes may not be used but the language has other means of expressing differences in tense); or "They can't say 'please'" (whereas in actual fact a verb ending may express this perfectly adequately).

The discoveries made by linguists about the languages of some of these 'primitive' peoples can be rather startling, but very salutory - for instance, that a 'Stone Age' tribe in the depths of the New Guinea mountains has a complex and compulsory verbal chaining system that results in sentences sometimes more than one page long; or that the language of a 'backward' hill people of Nepal has a pronominalisation cross-reference system in its verbs that even trained linguists who have been studying the language for several years have not been able to master.

Linguists accept the fact that languages of 'primitive' peoples can be, in some ways, much more complex than our own, and the mental ability needed to develop and use these languages is at least as extensive as our own. This in turn leads to a much greater acceptance of not only the languages, but their speakers; and these attitudes, hopefully, influence the people who must deal with these groups. It has been evident many times that the basic attitude of acceptance or intolerance - underlying programs for the 'development' and assimilation of primitive peoples - drastically affects both the form of the programs and their ultimate success. The indirect contribution of the linguist in this area can be as important as his more obvious task of helping government officers to learn the language.

Attitudes of prejudice often occur also among well-educated people about other highly literate languages; and here again, the linguist can contribute the necessary corrective attitudes and help smooth over problems that could otherwise be intense and even explosive.

3. Linguistics and reading: What is reading?

Reading is an enormously complex process, sometimes carried out at what seem incredibly high speeds - more than 1000 words per minute have been achieved. To the understanding of the various aspects of the acquisition and use of this skill, several disciplines have contributed, one of these being linguistics.

That it can contribute is because reading is as much tied to language as it is to 'knowing the letters': even if we can produce the right sounds by looking at the symbols on the printed page, we are no nearer getting any meaning from these symbols unless we have a knowledge of the language which the writer was using. In the process of gaining meaning, we must use our knowledge of the grammar and lexicon of this language.

To put it another way, reading is not just a process of going from the recognition of individual symbols and sequences of symbols to 'sounding out' a word, and from there going word by word to a whole verbal sequence, which we can then recognise and comprehend in the same way as we do when we hear someone speaking. Obviously noone, except a very beginning reader, goes through this laborious process.[1] It just does not account for the speed at which a practised reader can keep turning the pages and then tell you afterwards what it was that he has read! The processes, as we now know, are much more involved, and involve a whole repertoire of skills used, often, simultaneously.

Linguists have been using their knowledge of language to suggest what these processes are for many years. Books and articles by linguists explaining reading from the writer's theoretical standpoint, and incorporating advice on teaching methods, have been appearing since Let's Read in 1936. This book was written by Leonard Bloomfield, one of the founders of the school of structural linguistics and the writer of the most widely used general reference on the subject, and Clarence Barnhadt.

It developed, as did so many other books on the subject, from a dissatisfaction with existing methods of teaching reading, and proposed a new system based on the principles of structural linguistics. The beginning reader was to be taught the correlation between individual letters and the sounds they represent, rather than the 'global' approach which was then popular. In contrast to 'phonics', another popular method, the letters were never to be 'sounded out' in isolation, but always within syllables, the 'minimum pronounceable unit', and using minimum contrasts for letter substitution, i.e. words were to be drilled in lists where there was only one sound difference between each word: cat, pat, mat, hat. (This procedure was a development of the use of minimal pairs which were being used to established phonological differences in the languages linguists were studying, and correlated with the use of substitution frames which were being advocated in language teaching.)

Since structural linguistics, in practice at least, ignored semantics and did not consider the ability to get meaning from an utterance to be a part of linguistic study, so in Bloomfield's proposals for teaching reading there was little emphasis on the use of meaningful context. Words were to be read in isolation and stories did not necessarily have to be particularly interesting.

The ideas in Let's Read were seized on by quite a large number of eager reading teachers and were utilised in a teaching method called the 'linguistic method', in the expectation that this would solve all the problems previously encountered in making children literate. It was, as its users found, also inadequate, as is any method that focusses solely on one aspect of the reading process, and in the same way that no one present linguistic theory adequately explains language in all its aspects, although each different outlook has broadened our awareness and understanding of what is involved in either speaking or reading.

Later structural linguists attempted to produce more balanced procedures than those of Bloomfield, by an emphasis on larger contexts than nonsense syllables and words. Charles Fries stressed the necessity of teaching the beginner to read in phrases and whole sentences, and to utilise punctuation cues for 'chunking' and for correct expression.

When transformational grammar developed, reading was studied from a completely new viewpoint. General books such as Linguistics and Reading by Ronald Wardhaugh, which explained the process of reading from the standpoint of making a relationship between the surface form on the paper with a deep structure or semantic construct in the reader's mind, were supplemented by contributions by leading linguists themselves.

Noam Chomsky gave his comment in a small article entitled Phonology and Reading. Morris Halle, who collaborated with Chomsky in the production of the leading work on generative phonology, produced a very thoughtful and sound little article entitled Some Thoughts on Spelling in which he traced the underlying reasons and justification for some of the varying ways in which we spell affixes in English. In a conference on applied linguistics in Hawaii in 1970, David Reed and others made some illuminating comments on the nature of the de-coding process, stressing the fact that reading is complementary to and separate from speech, and does not normally involve oral mechanisms at all. Kenneth and Yetta Goodman have combined the analysis of reading errors with the theoretical stand-point of transformational grammar to further advance our understanding of the complexities involved and modify teaching approaches.

All these scholars view the visual aspect of the reading process - the recognition of symbols, clusters of symbols and words - as being no more important than the reader's use of his language abilities. It is now fairly well established[2] that between our first seeing a piece of text and our understanding of what it says, a process goes on in which an informed guess based on what is expected from context and our first half-focussed impression is checked out at high speed against the shapes on the page, as the mind absorbs the grammatical cues - verb agreement, pronominal reference etc. - checking them for consistency and using them to 'chunk' the material into larger semantic units. This leads to a closer look at the page and a second guess if some semantic or grammatical discrepancy registers. Otherwise the reader proceeds on to the next stretch of text, again going through the same procedures.

In this process, the skill of automatically recognising grammatical morphemes and utilising the information they convey is used far more often than what we normally think of as the basic skill, that of 'sounding out' the letters. We only slow down and look at individual letters when something has jarred and stopped our guess-check procedure. Otherwise a skilled reader is reading by much larger units - whole words, phrases, and even whole sentences.

In the light of this knowledge, perhaps the best definition of reading has been supplied by Kenneth Goodman. Reading, according to this knowledgeable scholar, is 'a psycholinguistic guessing game'! In this game, the goal is comprehension, and the equipment for the game is a range of different visual and language cues of various sizes and types which the reader can use simultaneously. One thing that this approach to reading emphasises is that in a normal language situation, the teaching of reading does not involve teaching a child his language - he already has a very considerable grasp of it when he starts school, as his oral abilities clearly show. We are simply teaching him to recognise and use the visual representations of his language - e.g. punctuation as the equivalent of intonation in speech, and the occurrence of various types of morphemes to signal grammatical information and help in 'chunking' of the text - to arrive at an understanding of what is written in the same way that he listens to and automatically decodes what is spoken to him in order to arrive at an understanding of what the speaker wants to communicate.

If the goal of reading is understanding, then it is important that the material the pupil learns from should be at the level of both his vocabulary skill and of his interests. It has been shown many times that it is easier to read (in terms of both accuracy and speed) when the content is familiar, because there is then a high level of predictability. It is even easier to read what is also interesting. The reader's brain seems to carry him over the long words or difficult grammar when the material grips his interest.

This is true even when the dialect of the pupil differs somewhat from the dialect of the text, even though in this case there is not always an exact correlation between the symbols on the page and the sounds of the pupil's language - for instance when the text says 'isn't' and the child says 'aint'. Sociolinguistic studies by William Labov of speakers of Black English in the U.S., and other studies by the Goodmans show that children can and do learn to read and understand material as though it were in their own dialect, provided psychological difficulties are not put in their way by the teacher insisting on 'correct', i.e. standard, pronunciation and grammar. The ability to read aloud 'correctly', i.e. exactly what is on the printed page, is a skill developed later, and should not be confused with learning to read.

Exact oral reproduction of the text by a child who speaks a non-standard dialect can sometimes indicate lack of comprehension and concentration on the visual-oral correlates of the reading process, to the detriment of comprehension. When the book is removed from such a child, he sometimes cannot say what he has read because his comprehension was dormant. This, of course, is also possible where the child speaks the standard dialect, and is one of the problems that develop in teaching programs that concentrate only on the development of visual-oral skills and ignore the importance of developing comprehension skills.

A very different situation to that of the child whose dialect is somewhat different applies when the child comes to school knowing only a dialect or language that is quite distinct from that of the textbooks he is to learn from. In this case, the ability to comprehend what he reads is blocked, or at least made considerably harder and less direct. At the same time as he is trying to learn to read, which is a process, as we have seen, involving language skills in addition to the ability to make visual-oral correlations, the child must learn the language in which he is expected to use these skills. Thus the education system imposes a double burden on the child, who, if he comes from a background where education is not highly valued, as is often the case with isolated minority language groups, will be tempted to give up the heavy task. Or, seeing the difficulties of his older siblings, he will not enrol at all.

Even if he stays in school, he may never learn that what he reads is meant to be understood. The truth of this has been amply shown in some countries of Central and South America, where for many years tribal children in isolated areas were taught in Spanish, a language they did not know and had no means of learning outside of school. After many weeks in class, they could successfully produce singsong oral versions of the Spanish text in their readers, but had absolutely no grasp of the meaning. In these unfortunate and usually highly unsuccessful programs, the ability to read meant, for the tribal child, being able to produce the right sound from looking at the symbols on the paper.

The problem is not quite so intense, and not always so obvious, in less isolated areas. Yet several studies, and the experience of educators in many countries has shown that both children and adults become literate much faster and more effectively in a language that they know; and normally once they have learnt to read, can transfer to reading in any other language quickly and without difficulty. If reading is truly what the linguists claim, a process of using linguistic as well as visual skills, in which comprehension is both an aid and a necessary end, then literacy programs in the mother tongue of the pupil are desirable in many parts of the world. Otherwise, the pedagogical principle of going from the known to the unknown is in a state of continual violation: the unknown (the language of the textbooks) is being used to teach another unknown (reading), a very uncertain and fallible procedure.

In this section of the paper, I have been fluctuating continually between a discussion of reading from a linguistic viewpoint, and how best reading may be taught. This is so because the research ties both of these topics together: the teaching of reading is used to give insights into the nature of reading itself, and research on reading provides ideas for better teaching. At this point, I want to leave the discussion of reading, even though much more could be said about this fascinating subject, and focus on broader aspects of the teaching of reading and elementary education, with particular reference to countries like Nepal.

4. Literacy programs in multi-lingual societies

In many multi-lingual nations, the rate of literacy is low. That this is so is due to a complex of interacting factors, some of which are common to countries where there is only one language. An additional complication in the multi-lingual society is the language factor, which is of great interest to the linguist. This interest, however, has so far been rather passive. Most of the ideas and opinions on the relationship between multilingualism and literacy are drawn not so much from closely controlled research as from the observations, suppositions and conclusions of those concerned with making education programs work.[3] The research projects on bilingualism being undertaken by the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies are a welcome step into this field, and will make a unique contribution to furthering our understanding of the subject.

Until a body of research is built up, discussions on this subject must be based to a large extent on the successes and failures of experiments with literacy programs and elementary education curricula in multi-lingual areas. Since these experiments have now been going on for quite some years in many different areas of the world, we can pick out trends and draw conclusions with a fair degree of certainty. So what I am now going to say is in the form of observations based on a study of other countries' experiences, and an attempt to relate these to Nepal. For simplicity, I am going to limit myself to talking about literacy programs designed for children, that is those which are part of the elementary education system, although most of what I have to say can be applied in principle to adult literacy and education programs also.

Observation No. 1

Problems in the elementary education system - low enrollment, poor attendance, high non-completion rate and low standard of achievement-- are usually worst among minority ethnic and language groups.

Observation No. 2

One of the most obvious and common reasons, as for instance in the tribal schools in Latin America mentioned in Section 3, is lack of control of the language of education, which may or may not be coupled with negative attitudes to this language.

A question that needs to be asked about Nepal is whether this is not also a factor here. In this country, Nepali is for very good reasons the standard medium of education throughout the school system. But how many children from the numerous non-Nepali language groups cannot speak Nepali when they come to school? What problems do they have in acquiring an adequate knowledge of Nepali, particularly if their mother tongue is radically different from Nepali? To make the transition from Maithili or Bhojpuri to Nepali may not present tremendous difficulties, because these are all related Indo-Aryan languages; but the jump from Gurung or Tamang to Nepali must be far greater. How long does it take to make the transition, and what factors help or impede progress to fluency?

In areas where children have picked up a certain amount of Nepali by the time they come to school, what then are the additional problems if the dialect spoken in their area is radically different from the standard Nepali of the textbooks? Gumperz has described difficulties of communication and how development schemes are hampered due to this problem in some rural areas of North India. Perhaps there is a similar problem here. Is for instance, western Nepali or Terai Nepali sufficiently different from standard Nepali to cause similar problems? These are all potentially fruitful areas for investigation.

The basic question is: are there areas in Nepal where the average child when he enters the education system is not adequately bilingual in standard Nepali? If the answer is yes, as I expect is the case by analogy with similar multilingual societies elsewhere in similar stages of economic development - Peru, Brazil, the Philippines and Vietnam to name but a few- then the next question is what, if anything, can be done to get around this problem?

Observation No. 3

Again, reference to other countries shows that there is a solution: bilingual education. This type of program is obviously effective, despite the extra costs involved, as it is being adopted for official education programs by an ever-increasing number of governments around the world - by Russia for its Caucasus areas as far back as the 1920's; then in Latin America, the Philippines and Vietnam; more recently by the U.S. in 1968 for its Indian and Chicano groups; and by Australia in 1972 for its aborigines.

Observation No. 4

These programs are all remarkably similar in their general characteristics. There are four main principles.

i. Initial use of the minority language for all teaching

Beginning classes in bilingual education programs are all conducted in the minority language, and are taught by teachers who are mother tongue speakers of this language. In accordance with the principle discussed at the end of Section 3, and the UNESCO declaration of 1951[4], literacy is achieved in the familiar medium of the child's mother tongue, using specially prepared primers and readers written in the local language and with content adapted for the local culture. Stories about city life, for instance, are as unsuitable for children in remote areas as accounts of life among the Eskimos or travel to the moon would be in primers for our children.

Once literacy is established in the mother tongue, the pupils can start reading in the national language, using material graded down to the level of the vocabulary and grammar they have learnt at that stage. Since in all cases that I know of, the script used for writing the minority language is the same as that of the national language, the transfer from reading in the mother tongue to reading in the national language is normally very quick. In this way, a child from a minority language group in a bilingual education program spends less time between starting school and becoming a fluent reader of the national language than an equivalent child in an education system that starts off teaching only in the national language. Reading fluency comes so much quicker to a child in the first type of program, and the transfer period is also quite short.

ii. Graded transfer to the national language

A bilingual education program proceeds in gradual stages of increasing use of the national language until eventually all classes of the standard curriculum are conducted in the national language. At this stage, the children from the bilingual education program can enroll in the standard schools and continue their education side by side with mother tongue speakers of the national language.

The rate of transfer to the national language is related to the rate at which the pupil can become competent in the national language, which in turn is related to how much he knows when he starts school, how different his own language is from the national language, and various other linguistic and sociological factors. In some programs the transfer is achieved within a year, though more usually it is spread over the primary school period, taking three to four or even more years.

iii. Oral language classes to teach the national language

In addition to the normal school curriculum, the pupil in a bilingual education program has special daily classes to develop his knowledge of the national language. These classes are purely oral for the first year, and continue to be largely so even after this, acting as a supplement to the classes in the literature etc. of the national language which are part of the standard school curriculum. Thus the child is learning beforehand the vocabulary that he will need in his other classes. In this way he is not forced to simultaneously learn the language and also use it to acquire information.

iv. Continuing classes in the minority language and culture

Contrary to what might be expected, education programs that utilise the minority languages have almost universally helped to draw the minority groups into the national culture and have increased their use of the national language - even to the extent of the loss of the original language and culture, as happened with the Cree Indians in the U.S. Fears that bilingual education programs would intensify the use of the mother tongue and the isolation of its speakers from the nation at large have no basis in fact.

Since for a group to completely lose its own distinctive language and culture would be as undesirable as if it were to remain isolated and cut off from the language and culture of the nation at large, almost all bilingual education programs have classes continuing through primary school which are designed to broaden the pupils' understanding of their own culture. They continue to be conducted in the local language even after complete transfer to the national language has been completed in the rest of the curriculum. In some countries, considerable effort has been put into producing literature and teaching material for these classes.

This then is the basic form of bilingual education programs, and the means by which the integration of minority groups into the life of the nation is being achieved in many parts of the world.[5] Here in Nepal, it is time that thought be given to whether similar programs would not be beneficial to at least some of the country's inhabitants, and to setting up pilot programs to examine the possibilities in more detail.

5. The linguist's contribution to bilingual education programs

If the principle of bilingual education was indeed accepted in Nepal, a linguist would have many contributions to make as programs were initiated. After learning and if necessary analysing the phonology and grammar of a minority language, he would then use his skills in the following ways.

i. Preparation of an orthography for the language

Before any textbooks can be prepared in a minority language that has previously had no literature of its own, decisions must be made as to how the language is to be written, taking into account the sometimes conflicting requirements that the minority language use the symbols available in the national script and look as much like the national language as possible, and that the unique phonological system of the minority language, which can differ radically from the national language, must be adequately represented.

Here in Nepal, as an end-product of their phonological analyses, SIL linguists under the guidance of Dr. B.M. Dahal and Mr. C. Bandhu of Tribhuvan University have been designing orthographies to fit the languages they are studying.

ii. Production of pedagogical materials in the minority language

A bilingual education program needs a range of special textbooks of appropriate content, written in the minority language. The first need is for primers. These are prepared after study of the phonological and grammatical structure of the language, and the information gained is then used to plan the sequence of introduction of symbols and grammatical elements, and ensure a gradual progression through all the elements at the right speed.

In addition to primers, a considerable range of reading material of varying degrees of difficulty is needed in order to give the new literate sufficient practice to become fluent. Encouragement of the production of this type of material by literate members of the minority language group is thus another task for the linguist.

Earlier this year, a trial writer training workshop was held at SIL for some members of minority language groups who were interested in producing literature in their own languages. The trainees carried out a series of short writing exercises, using for content their impressions from excursions to various places around Kathmandu. There were also classroom discussion sessions, when they read and commented on Nepali translations of their efforts, and lectures on topics such as style and editing. Some of the trainee writers have since prepared selections of their manuscripts, complete with their own illustrations, for offset printing in the University Press, and have experienced the thrill of coming out in print for the first time. This workshop could well be the forerunner of many others when literature in the minority languages is needed for education programs.

For subjects such as social studies or geography in the lower level classes, materials translated into the minority language from Nepali would also be needed. Again, the writers would preferably be literate members of the minority language group, with the linguist supervising production to ensure accuracy, comprehensibility and suitability of topic.

iii. Production of pedagogical materials for transition into Nepali.

Since the aim of a bilingual education program is to make a monolingual child fluent in the national language as soon as possible, the materials that will help him to do so are also a very important part of the program.

There are several types of materials required: transition primers to introduce the symbols of the national language that do not occur in the minority language, diglotted textbooks for levels above the first year when the national language is starting to be used side by side with the minority language, and materials for teaching of the national language: TNSL programs as described at the end of section 1. It is doubtful that each program will need a different set of language teaching materials, but certainly there would need to be differences between the materials prepared for an Indo-Aryan language area and those designed for use in a Tibeto-Burman language area.

Obviously, if bilingual education is to become a reality in this country, two basic needs must be met: the provision of finance and of trained workers.

I am confident that the finance will come, as in other countries,[6] when it is realised that, if the cost of providing education is divided against the number of children who actually get educated in the system, the cost per child is often less in a bilingual education program than in a traditional national-language-only program. The increase in school attendance, that is, in the numbers effectively receiving education in areas where bilingual education is really needed, will, over a period of years, more than offset the cost of preparing and printing the special textbooks. Even if the expense were not counterbalanced by the extra numbers of pupils, the fact is that literacy is vital to a country's development, and hence any education system that leaves large numbers of the country's inhabitants illiterate has hidden costs which more than counterbalance the outlay saved by not venturing outside the traditional pattern of education.

Finding the trained linguists for such programs could well be a weighty problem, given the present state of linguistics in Nepal. The experience of the recent INAS-SIL training program in basic linguistics, whose original complement of thirty students who came to find out what linguistics was about dwindled to four, indicates that linguistics is not a field with great drawing power. Whether the problem was that the subject was found too difficult, abstruse and uninteresting, or whether it was that linguistics does not provide an assured means of earning a living, needs to be assessed. If the answer is the lack of assured jobs after training, then it would be worthwhile investigating alternative methods of training, such as courses for educators already in service, or the provision of job guarantees for graduates.

FOOTNOTES

1/ At a slow rate of reading, sub-vocalisation or even audible whispering of what is being read does occur, probably with most readers. But Huey, for once, is incorrect when he say 'the fact of inner speech forming a part of silent reading has not been disputed, so far as I am aware, by any one who has experimentally investigated the process of reading.' (117) In speed reading, 'inner speech' cannot be a part of the process, and with most experienced readers reading at medium to fast speed it does not seem to occur either. For further details, see Bever and Bower, How to Read without Listening.

2/ Paul Koler's article Reading Is Only Incidentally Visual highlights this point, but is only one of many recent contributions on the subject.

3/ One major exception to this is the work of Dr. Nancy Modiano, who over a period of years has been studying education problems in the Chiapas area of Mexico.

4/ 'We take it as axiomatic that every child of school age should attend school and that every illiterate should be made literate...We take it as axiomatic, too, that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the pupil...vernaculars are, in most cases, the key to literacy.' (The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, page 47).

5/ An alternative to the bilingual type of education program would be that of adding a preliminary six months or year to the elementary program in minority language areas, during which the children would have classes solely to learn the national language up to a stage where they could start using the textbooks in the national language and proceed in school at the same speed as other children who are mother tongue speakers of the national language.

That it has seldom been tried, and never to my knowledge continued for long, is no doubt due to its inherent disadvantages. It is slower: an extra year is added to the child's time in school, and he has an age discrepancy of a year over other children in the school program. In addition, the problems that the teacher of this preliminary class could face in maintaining interest and application in this sort of a vacuum could be intense.

6/ It is interesting to note that despite the fact that we are in an era of aid programs, I do not know of any country that has used this type of assistance to set up its bilingual education programs, with the exception of Vietnam and possibly the Philippines. While funding for these programs could probably have been found outside the countries concerned, it would appear that when the idea of bilingual education has caught on, governments seem to have been able to find the finances from their own funds.

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DISCUSSION ON

APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Towards Bilingual Education Programs for Nepal

by

Beth Morton

Contributor 1 Mr. Ayodhhya Prasad Pradhan

(In summary) How can we bring about a situation in Nepal the same as we find in Australia, namely, that of having only one language?

Speaker's Reply

Do we want to do that?

Contributor 2 Mr. T.R. Kansakar

At what age is it desirable for a child to experience bilingualism?

Speaker's Reply

So many children learn both their mother tongue and the second language almost at the same time. Problems in this age-group are rare.

Contributor 3 Mr. T.R. Kansakar

There is the notion that if two languages are introduced too early it will retard both.

Speaker's Reply

In a bilingual education program, while two languages are used, only one is actually being taught: the national or major language, which would be Nepali in this country. The child's mother tongue does not need to be taught - he already knows it. It is well known that when a normal child comes to school at, say, 6 years old, he already can and does produce in normal conversation far more complex stretches of his mother tongue, with a much wider range of vocabulary, than he is likely to find in his textbooks for several years. So we are not, in fact, teaching the mother tongue, but using it as the quickest means of teaching the skill of reading by giving him material to read in a language he already knows. He is not learning the words on the page, or their meanings, which is what happens when he has to learn to read in a language he does not know. He is simply learning to recognise the groupings of letters on a page as visual correlates of words he already knows and uses.

It is true that, for instance here in Nepal, there is a subject taught in school called Nepali, but this is not in actual fact teaching the child to speak the language. It is designed to extend vocabulary and introduce him to the literary forms of his language. It starts off with the assumption that he already has control of the language, and this is the fallacy affecting a large number of school-age children in this country in the present education system.

THE LANGUAGES OF NEPAL

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I. Introduction
II. Language Families
III. Numbers of Speakers of Each Language.
IV. Distribution of Languages
V. Mobility
VI. Major and Minor Languages of Nepal
VII. Special Categories of Languages

I. INTRODUCTION

Geographical Situation of Nepal

Sandwiched between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India, Nepal covers an area of 145,305 sq. kms. It is situated between 26°N & 30°N latitudes and 80°E & 88°E longitudes. Geographically the country is divisible into four physical regions namely.

1. The Himalayan region
2. The Zone of valleys and spurs, or the Hills
3. The Inner Terai
4. The Terai

The Himalayan region consists of highlands generally above 3,000 m which form a continuous east west belt in the northern sector of the country. It also includes the inner Himalayan valleys. The Zone of valleys and spurs, or the Hills, constitutes a maze of valleys and spurs and is physically the largest region of the country. It is bounded by the Mahabharat range in the South and the greater Himalayas in the North. South of the Mahabharat range lies Nepal's humble share of the Indo Gangetic plain known as the Terai which is punctuated by three major inner Terai valleys bounded by the Siwaliks and the Mahabharats, namely the Dang, Chitwan and the Udaypur valleys.

Ethnic Groups

Ethnically too a fourfold division of Nepal has been made consisting of

1. The Indo-Aryan
2. Mongoloid
3. Austric
4. Dravidian ethnic groups

Religions

The principal religion of the country is Hinduism. There are followers of Buddhism, Islamism and Shamanism also.

Aim and Evidence of the Paper

The purpose of this paper is to give some idea of the languages of Nepal on the basis of their speakers and their geographical distributions. In the absence of a linguistic survey it is difficult to ascertain the number of languages belonging to different language families. In the three national census reports up to date, 1952/4, 1961 and 1971, the number of languages differs according to each census. In this paper information about the languages has been taken from the census; languages which have not been enumerated in the census but are under study, and languages known to exist from other sources have also been included. The number of speakers here has been given according to the 1971 census. For languages whose speakers have not been enumerated in the census estimated figures have been provided.

II. LANGUAGE FAMILIES

In Nepal the languages spoken belong to four language families:

1. Indo-European
2. Sino-Tibetan
3. Austro-Asiatic
4. Dravidian

The percentage of the speakers of languages of the various language families out of the total population of Nepal in 1971 is as follows:

Language family	Percentage of total population
Indo-European (Indo-Aryan)	78.50
Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman)	17.08
Austro-Asiatic (Munda Group)	0.21
Dravidian (Northern Kudux)	0.15*
Other languages	4.06**

Notes: *This has been derived on the basis of 1961 Census.
**This includes languages which belong to different language families but which are not specified in the 1971 Census.

III. NUMBERS OF SPEAKERS OF EACH LANGUAGE

According to the number of speakers and their percentage of the total population and grouped under each language family the situation of the different languages in the country appears to be as follows:

A. Indo-European

Indo-Aryan Group

Language	No of Speakers	%
1. Nepali	6,060,759	52.44
2. Maithili	1,327,242	11.48
3. Bhojpuri	806,490	6.98
4. Tharuwani* (Maithili Tharuwani, Bhojpuri Tharuwani, Awadhi Tharuwani and Chitwan Tharuwani)	496,881	4.29
5. Awadhi	316,950	2.74
6. Danuwar	9,958	0.09
7. Darai	u.s.	u.s.
8. Bote	u.s.	u.s.
9. Majhi	u.s.	u.s.
10. Kumhale	u.s.	u.s.
11. Rajbansi	55,128	.48

Notes: *Though Tharuwani has been named as a language in the census it is probably a dialect of Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi. This could not, of course, be said of the Tharu language spoken in the Inner Terai. The reason is that Chitwan Tharu is not identifiable with any of the above three Language. (See Chitwan Tharu Phonemic Summary by Dorothy Leal, SIL, June 1972).

**u.s. means unspecified in the 1971 Census. These are languages that are known to exist and presumably come under "other languages" in the 1971 Census.

B. Sino-Tibetan

Tibeto-Burman Group

Language	No. of speakers	%
1. Tamang*	555,054	4.80
2. Newari	457,949	3.94
3. Magar	288,283	2.50
4. Rai Kiranti Group**	232,246	2.01
5. Gurung	171,609	1.49
6. Limbu	170,787	1.48
7. Sherpa		
8. Tibetan	79,218	0.68
9. Loke		
10. Sunwar	20,380	0.18
11. Thakali	u.s.	
12. Pahari	u.s.	
13. Chepang	u.s.	
14. Dhimal	u.s.	
15. Raji	u.s.	
16. Bayu (Hayu)	u.s.	
17. Byasi	u.s.	
18. Kham	u.s.	
19. Kaike, Lhomi	u.s.	
20. Lepcha	u.s.	
21. Rautya	u.s.	
22. Meche	u.s.	

Notes: *Eastern and western Tamang are different languages. But they have been given under one name in the census.

**Rai Kiranti is not one language but a covering term for many languages. So far SIL has studied the Khaling, Thulung, Bahing languages, but there are many other languages which come under this name. Some of the languages of this group are as follows:

1. Yakkha	2. Athpare	3. Lohorang	4.. Chhintang
5. Ramechhap	6. Dungmali	7. Chamiling	8. Khaling
9. Dumi	10. Sangpang	11. Balali	12. Lambichong
13. Bahing	14. Thulung	15. Walung	16. Nachereng
17. Chamase etc.			

C. Austro-Asiatic

Munda Group

Language	No. of speakers	%
1. Satar*	20,660	0.18
2. Santhal*	3,193	0. 3
3. Kusunda**	u.s.	

Notes: *It cannot be said with certainty whether Satar and Santhal are different languages or dialects of the same language.

**With only scanty data available it is difficult to ascertain whether Kusunda is a language of the Sino-Tibetan family or of the Austro-Asiatic family.

D. Dravidian

Northern Kurux Group

Language	No. of speakers	%
1. Jhangad	u.s.	u.s.

IV. DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES

Because of the lack of a linguistic survey the exact distribution of the languages of Nepal cannot be stated. However, the main concentration of these languages can be broadly set out as follows:

A. Indo-Aryan Group

The languages of this group are mainly spoken in the hills, the Inner Terai and the Terai regions.

Nepali.

Originally a language of the western hills, it is now concentrated throughout the entire hill region though Nepali speakers are scattered all over the kingdom. In the West this language forms a dialect continuum and cuts across the political boundary to Kumaon. In the East it reaches different parts of north east India, Sikkim, Bhutan and onward even to Burma.

Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi.

The main concentration of these three languages lies in the border fringes of the eastern, central and western Terai respectively. An interesting point to note about these languages is that they are a dialect continuum within the entire Terai region of Nepal and cut across the political boundary between Nepal and India but no such dialect continuum exists between Nepali and these languages.

Tharuwani.

The main concentration of the speakers of this language lies to the immediate North of the Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi areas, on the southern fringes of the Siwaliks, and in the Inner Terai valleys of Udaipur, Chitwan and Dang Deokhuri. This language also cuts across the political boundary of Nepal with India in the areas of the central and the far western Terai regions of Nepal.

Rajbansi.

The main concentration of speakers of this language is in the southern fringes of the Terai extending from Jhapa to Morang districts. This language is regarded as a dialect of Bangla and is spoken in the adjacent areas of W. Bengal.

Danuwar, Bote, Darai, Majhi and Kumhale:

Danuwar.

Danuwar speakers are found in the northern areas of Rautahat, Bara, Parsa and Chitwan of Nepal and south west of Kathmandu valley. But the main concentration is in the valley of Udaypur, Sindhuli and Makwanpur. Danuwar is a covering term used for the three Danuwar languages known as Danuwar Rai, Done Danuwar and Kacharya Danuwar. There may be three different languages or the dialects of one language. They are yet to be studied linguistically. (See Danuwar Rai Phonemic Summary by Klaus, P. and D. Klueglar, SIL Kathmandu).

Bhote and Majhi* are spoken in the Terai and in the upstream valleys in the hills. Likewise Kumhale is spoken in some districts of the Terai and some areas of the central hills. Darai has been recorded in the central inner Terai valley of Chitwan and in the hills North of it. Though the speakers of the languages are now dispersed in the Terai, the inner Terai and the hills the main concentration at one time had been in Terai region itself.

Note: *Bote and Majhi have been classified separately in the 1952/54 Census, but Dor Bahadur Bista regards these as one and the same language.

The speakers of the Indo-Aryan group of languages belong to the Indo-Aryan and the Mongolid group. From the religious standpoint a majority of the speakers are Hindus and a small minority are Muslims.

B. Tibeto-Burman Group

These languages are mainly spoken in the Himalayan regions and the hill regions. Tibetan, Sherpa, Kagate, Lhomi, Thakali, Manang, Byasi, Kaike.

Tibetan is spoken along the entire east west length of the Himalayan region punctuated by Sherpa, Kagati, Lhomi and Thakali. Sherpa and Thakali are spoken mainly in the Eastern Himalayan regions while Thakali speakers are concentrated in the central Himalayan region, particularly Mustang and the valley of Manang. Lhomi is a language spoken in the border area of Sankhuwa Sabha in the eastern Himalayan region. Tibetan cuts across the political border on to Tibet. There may be dialect continuum between Sherpa, Jirel, Tibetan, Byasi, (For Jirel see below).

Kaike and Loke are spoken in Dolpo, Mustang and Manang. Byasi is spoken chiefly around Darchula in the western-most Himalayan region.

Lepcha, Limbu, Meche and Dhimal.

The concentration of Lepcha speakers lies in the easternmost areas of Ilam district. This language is also spoken in the neighbouring areas of Darjeeling and Sikkim on the other side of the political border.

The main concentration area of Limbu language constitute Panchthar, Ilam, Taplezung, and parts of Sankhuwa Sabha and Dhankuta districts. It is generally spoken in the hilly regions

East of the Arun river. This language is also spoken in Sikkim. The Limbu group of languages consists of two separate languages, namely Chha Thare Limbu and Panch Thare or 'proper Limbu'.

Meche is spoken in the Jhapa district in areas bordering India while Dhimal is spoken in the Terai areas of Morang and Jhapa districts.

It is interesting to note that only Meche and Dhimal of the Tibeto-Burman Group are spoken in the Terai regions.

Rai Kiranti Group.

These languages are spoken between the Dudhkoshi and the Arun rivers including some parts of Sankhuwasabha and Dhankuta districts.

Sunwar, Hayu, Jirel, Pahari and Thami.

The main concentration of Sunwar speakers is in Okhaldhunga, Ramechap, and Sindhuli districts in the Eastern Hills. The main concentration of Bayu (Hayu) speakers lies in the narrow corridor between Koshi river to the N.W. Sunkoshi and south east of the Likhu river. The main concentration of Jirel speakers is around Jiri in the Dolakha district. Pahari is spoken mainly round the fringes of the Mahabharat range in the Lalitpur, Sindhu Palchok and Kabhre Palanchok districts. The main concentration of Thami speakers is in Dolakha, Sindhu Palchok, Ramechap, Sindhuli and Okhaldhunga districts.

Newari, Eastern Tamang and Chepang.

The main concentration of Newari speakers is in the valley of Kathmandu, also including certain outlying areas. E.W. Tamang is spoken mainly along the Mahabharat ranges around the valley of Kathmandu. Chepang speakers are found only in the lower fringes of the Mahabharat in south west Gorkha, Dhading, north west Chitwan, west and north of Makwanpur districts.

Gurung and Magar.

Both these languages are mainly languages of the central hills. Gurung is spoken mainly in the central hill regions extending from Budhi Gandaki to the Kali Gandaki river covering Gorkha, Lamjung, Tanahu, Kaski, Syanja, Parbat, Manang districts. The main concentration of Magar speakers is in Palpa, Syanja, Tanahu, Gorkha districts.

Kham.

The speakers of this language are found in the river valleys of the Sani Bheri and its tributaries in the Dhaulagiri and Rapti Zones. (See Kham Phonemic Summary by Dr. Watters, SIL, Kathmandu).

Raji, Raute, Western Tamang.

Raji is spoken mainly in Banke, Bardia, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts in the far western Terai. Raute is an obscure language said to be mainly spoken by small groups in and around Dolakha districts. West Tamang is spoken in the far western hills, mainly in the Jumla area.

C. Munda Group

Satar and Santhal.

The speakers of these languages are found in the southern areas of Jhapa and Morang districts.

Kusunda.

This language is fast disappearing in Nepal. It is believed that the Kusunda speakers are scattered in small groups throughout western Nepal.

D. Northern Kurux Group

Jhangad.

The concentration of this language is in Sunsari and Morang districts.

V. MOBILITY

The tendency of migration in Nepal has disturbed the original habitats of the speakers of all the languages. This has caused the rise of bilingual situations in Nepal. And the nationwide wave of migration has caused new linguistic situations in Nepal. Development activities and the process of industralisation and urbanisation in Nepal have mobilised the speakers from North to South, and from the hills to the Terai regions.

VI. MAJOR AND MINOR LANGUAGES OF NEPAL

Major Languages

Keeping in view the total population of Nepal (i.e. 11,555, 983) I have modified Charles A. Ferguson's criterion of giving the status of a major language of a country to a language spoken as a native language by more than 25% of the population or by more than 1,000,000 (ten lakh) people. In Nepal, we should call a language a major language if it is spoken as a native language by more than 1,00,000 (1 lakh) citizens.

With this as the criterion the following are the major languages of Nepal:

Language	%
1. Nepali	52.44
2. Maithili	11.48
3. Bhojpuri	6.98
4. Tamang (East, West)	4.80
5. Tharuwani	4.29
6. Newari	3.94
7. Awadhi	2.74
8. Magar	2.50
9. Raikiranti	2.01
10. Gurung	1.49
11. Limbu	1.48

Minor Languages

All those languages of Nepal which are not listed as major languages may be called minor languages.

VII. SPECIAL CATEGORIES OF LANGUAGES

1. Languages of Nepal with particularly rich literatures and of great tradition are:

   Nepali
   Maithili
   Newari
   Tibetan

2. Classical languages and those of special status because of religious and cultural associations are:

a. Sanskrit - a classical language related to the Hindu religion, literature, culture and philosophy.

b. Pali - a classical language related to Buddhism.

c. Tibetan - a language related to Buddhist religion and culture.

d. Urdu - associated with Muslim culture.

3. The national languages:

Nepali is the national language as stated in the constitution of Nepal. It is used in education, broadcasting, administration, politics and as the medium of wider communication throughout the country.

4. Auxiliary language:

English is the main language in Nepal used in higher education and research and in international communication.

5. Other foreign languages:

Hindi is understood and spoken by a large number of people in Nepal. Other foreign languages such as Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Russian, Spanish are spoken by a very small number of people.

The final and perhaps the most important point I have to make is that this account of the languages of Nepal is seriously deficient. And there is no possibility of producing a reliable and accurate account of the languages and their speakers until a linguistic survey is undertaken. This, in my opinion, should have top priority amongst linguistic research projects.

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DISCUSSION ON

THE LANGUAGES OF NEPAL

by

Subhadra Subba

The following participants raised points during the discussion*:

Dr. A. Kelkar
Professor P.B. Pandit
Dr. K.P. Misra
Mr. A.P. Pradhan
Dr. D.P. Patanayak
Mrs. Nima Lama

Contributor 1

What is the place of Hindi in your survey of the languages of Nepal?

Speaker's Reply

The number of mother tongue speakers of Hindi in Nepal is very small and in this sense the place of Hindi is insignificant. But it is, of course, an important trade and contact language in some of the Terai cities of Nepal.

Contributor 2

Is there any bilingual situation in Nepal?

Speaker's Reply

Yes, bilingual situations exist all over Nepal.

I have postulated two types of bilingualism: stable and transitional. Stable bilingualism is where the mother tongue is strongly entrenched and exists side by side with the second language, usually Nepali, without there being any likelihood of change. Transitional bilingualism is where there is a fluid bilingual situation in the sense that speakers of a language are in the process of changing to the second language, Nepali as their mother tongue.

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* As explained in the Editor's Note there was a 'technical hitch' in the recording of this discussion and it has been partially reproduced from notes taken during the Seminar.

I have also divided Nepal into three bilingual zones:

1. The Northern Zone where there is not at present much bilingualism but where there is every likelihood for a strong stable bilingual situation to exist.

2. The Central Zone where bilingualism starts from early childhood. This is mainly what I would call a transitional bilingual situation, though in a few areas there exists a situation for stable bilingualism.

3. The Terai Zone where bilingualism usually starts later than in the Central Zone. This zone offers a situation for stable bilingualism.

Contributor 3

Your account of the Tibetan and Sherpa languages does not seem adequate.

Speaker's Reply

I entirely agree that it is not adequate. Very little survey work has been done on the Tibetan - type languages of Northern Nepal. This is one of the areas where language survey work is urgently needed.

Contributor 4

You appear to use the names of language families as names of ethnic groups. Why is this?

Speaker's Reply

I followed Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee's Classification given in his book Kirant Janakritic.

Note

The figures given in the original paper for the total number of square kilometres for Nepal was queried. The figures were taken from a reputable geography book, but were out of date. The most recent figures have been inserted for this edition.

LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES AND PRIORITIES IN NEPAL

Ballabh Mani Dahal

Nepali Instruction Committee

Tribhuvan University

Our country is in a critical transitional phase. Our prime aim today is to achieve a rapid and planned development in the country with a view to making the national consolidation firmer and more conscious.

Linguistics is a relatively new science and linguistic studies in our country are still in their infancy. The skepticism as to the utility of linguistic research which is common even among the educated and those in government positions is, therefore, not surprising.

The question is why priority should be given to linguistic studies when our country has pressing needs in other fields of development. If national development truly means development in all fields, it cannot be measured from the point of view of material development only. In fact, development is largely a product of the will and determination of the people. This resource is one of the mind and attitude, not primarily a material one. In this paper an attempt has been made to discuss briefly some of the perspectives and priorities that should be given to linguistic studies in Nepal and the possible contribution of linguistic studies to national consolidation and development.

Nepal, though small in area, comprehends tremendous variety linguistically. Several languages from four language families are spoken here. To know and understand Nepal and her people, linguistic studies are as essential as are the studies in Nepal's geography, history and culture. Linguistic studies can be made from descriptive, sociological, psychological, anthropological and applied bases. Some of the important linguistic studies which should be given priority will be dealt with here.

1. Descriptive Studies

The descriptive study of languages is the basis for all linguistic work. Applied linguistics, which can produce information and methodology immediately utilitarian to the national interest, depends wholly on efficient and accurate linguistic descriptions. No applied linguistics, in the widest sense of the term, can be effective unless it is based on sound theoretical and descriptive work. It seems this fact is not realised by many non-linguists, who tend to think that descriptive linguistics is 'impractical' and academic. On the contrary, the areas of applied linguistics such as language teaching, the making of dictionaries, reference grammars are 'impractical' without a sound descriptive backing. They just can not work. Descriptive linguistics supplies the facts which are necessary for any applied work and is the foundation of all linguistic work.

A considerable start has been made towards describing the multifarious languages of Nepal. In particular SIL have produced a number of descriptions of different languages, particularly from the Sino-Tibetan group. However, a great deal more needs to be done. Two kinds of surveys as a start are essential:

i. A Linguistic Survey

The actual number of languages spoken in Nepal are still not known. A linguistic survey is necessary to find out what languages there are, the number of speakers, and the areas in which they are spoken. This kind of survey would not only help the linguist, but would be of immense value to HMG for making decisions about language policy, in particular in the area of literacy and education. The present need for information on our languages cannot be met by the work of Hodgson and Grierson, which was a brave start but quite inadequate for modern Nepal. INAS has made a linguistic survey of Nepal one of the more important objectives of its linguistic studies and SIL has shown interest in helping this project. (see INAS report, January 17, 1972)

ii. Dialect Surveys

For some of the more important languages of Nepal dialect studies are necessary. The most obvious language for which this should be undertaken is, of course, the national language, Nepali; but other languages, such as Newari, should have their different dialects studied also. The advantages of a dialect survey are that the differences between colloquial and written dialects may be understood, the standard dialect may be made more effective and dynamic by being put in its proper perspective amongst the other dialects, and an accurate history of the language may be constructed.

Apart from these ways in which descriptions of the languages of Nepal may contribute to Nepal itself, it should be mentioned that linguistic studies here, particularly of Sino-Tibetan languages, can contribute a great deal to the knowledge of linguistic universals. The study of the Indo-European, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic groups of languages is, of course, also important. Nepal's past isolation for centuries makes it an ideal place for areal linguistic studies. Many languages are in the process of extinction and for this reason immediate studies of languages like Majhi, Kumhale, Bayu, Kusunda, etc. should be made. If this is not done and these languages die out, it will mean a literally irreparable loss to knowledge.

2. Sociolinguistics

The other term that can be used for socio-linguistics is glottopolitics. Government decision makers should take the help of sociolinguists when they make decisions about language policy or when they seek to solve linguistic problems. The country will benefit from language planning. Correct language planning can help decision makers and politicians immensely in channeling subnationalism in the right direction and by strengthening harmonious national integration. It can also help development plans reach the masses more effectively. Of course, sociolinguists are not the ultimate decision makers; they can only make suggestions on the basis of their objective and specialised studies of the situation and problems. Let us not forget that for an all-round development of the country and for national integrity the basic factors are socio-economic justice and healthy people-oriented polity. With this in view I want to highlight some aspects of language planning and linguistic studies which will have far-reaching effects.

National Language

One of the effective means to attain unity and understanding among people is language. Our country consists of diverse ethnic and linguistic groups inhabiting diverse geographic environments and we need a common language for mutual communication. This need is being fulfilled by Nepali which is recognised as the national language in our constitution. But the questions are: What sort of functional role is expected and performed by Nepali as the national language? Is our national language competent to fulfill all the different kinds of demands made on it in the fields of the humanities, the social sciences and the pure sciences? In my view the national language should at least be effecient in the following aspects:

A. It should be efficient to be the medium of instruction for higher education.

B. It should be capable of expressing the growing demand of complex, abstract and sophisticated ideas in the fields of science and technology and private and government activities.

C. It should be efficient for intertranslatability so that it can operate in a similar way to international languages like English, French, German etc.

To achieve these aims it will be necessary to ensure for the language:

1. A standard grammar
2. Standard dictionaries
3. An orthographic and spelling system which is simple and scientific
4. A standard dialect which is fixed and simplified
5. Standard works in the language, both original and translated
6. That there are effective measures to ensure that all Nepalese, whatever their mother tongue, attain competence in comprehension and expression in the language.

Here we have to ask-have our university authorities, government decision makers, planners and academicians seriously considered these problems? In practice the use of English is growing in all fields. At higher levels already a sizable prestige-conscious, isolated cotery exists who uses English and thereby minimises the role of the common language and the common people.

In view of the above objectives the following language planning measures are proposed as a start:

A Dictionary of Technical Vocabulary.

The field of science and technology has been widening every day in the process of modernisation in our country. In all fields government officials, private enterprise, educationists, the radio, newspapers are facing difficulties caused by the lack of technical standard terminologies. The efforts so far made in this direction are a kind of "ad-hocism" which is clearly unsatisfactory.

This is surely an obstacle in the path of national development. We should be thankful to INAS which has fully realized this and has proposed a project for compiling a Dictionary of Nepali Technical Terminology. (For details see: Dictionary of Nepali Technical Terminology, Phase I, INAS) This is a very time-consuming and expensive project which needs the cooperation and coordination of the efforts of HMG, the Royal Nepal Academy, INAS and scholars from several fields. We have no idea about the kind of response INAS has received so far to their proposal.

Translations, Dictionaries and New Expressions.

As mentioned above, to raise Nepali in the level of international languages we need standard books, original and translated, and many specialised dictionaries. The science of translation and dictionary making is highly developed as a separate branch of applied linguistics. Unfortunately, our Royal Nepal Academy has not paid proper attention to it. The dictionaries compiled by the Academy are unsatisfactory and standard translation works are scanty. Our writers are trying to give new styles and expression in their work. The study of the dialects of Nepali will be of a great help in enriching vocabularies, thus helping subtle expressions and the presentation of new styles.

Revision of Orthography and Spelling.

There is a felt need today to revise and simplify the orthography and spelling system of Nepali to make reading and writing quicker and simpler. The impact of writing and spelling is quite obvious in the spread of literacy.

Standardization.

The Kathmandu dialect has been recognised as the so-called standard dialect of Nepali. At present Nepali has only a very sketchy and traditional grammar. New innovations have taken place in the phonology and grammar of Nepali since it was written. The spread of education has made possible the entry of different dialect features into standard Nepali. Moreover, the phenomenon of Sanskritisation and Anglicisation is becoming stronger. All these have resulted in various inconsistencies in phonological and grammatical levels of so-called standard Nepali. These inconsistencies seen in the language must be remedied by deciding the norm of the standard dialect which should be colloquial oriented and simplified. The benefit of this will be enormous to literacy and in the teaching of Nepali to both mother tongue speakers and non-mother tongue speakers. As it is, the task of teaching Nepali is impossibly hampered by the lack of adequate reference works, and the problems of examining and judging competence in the language are both difficult and unfair.

Publicity and Spread.

Literacy can be effective if Nepali is simplified and standardised as mentioned above, but this in itself is not enough. Steps have to be taken to implement the spread of literacy and competence in the language. First of all appropriate textbooks. and materials have to be prepared, and this is the task of the applied linguist. Then the language and incentives to learn the language have to be brought to the mass of the people. For this, various media have to be considered, including newspapers, popular magazines and the radio.

Studies in Multilingualism.

The study of multilingualism has become interesting in view of contacts between linguistic communities, particularly between the Nepali speaking community and other language speaking communities. These studies in multilingualism will help to bring about effective harmony in educational, social and political fields. Further, such studies can be helpful in understanding the extent to which Nepali has been accepted as the second language by other linguistic communities and how it is functioning in administration, in socio-political situations and in education. The problems encountered in each of the above fields will be revealed by such studies. They will also reveal the language attitudes of different linguistic groups. The long term bilingual study project sponsored by INAS is the right step in this direction.

Literacy and Development.

Illiteracy is the main obstacle in the rapid implementation of development programmes. Without wiping out illiteracy efforts to induce development and foster national unity remain mere dreams. To make the campaign for literacy more effective, fruitful and quick our decision-makers must revise their medium of instruction policy. The medium of instruction at primary level should be the regional language or perhaps both, in the regional as well as in the national language. And gradually a switch over to the national language medium can take place. Of course, this policy of dual medium and the production of identical textbooks in different languages is expensive but in the long run it will pay. Perhaps a grant for this kind of educational project could be sought from UNESCO. Attention should be paid to SIL's programme of preparing primary textbooks in different regional languages which aims at making preliterates literate.

Regional Language Policy.

It is evident that HMG does not have an explicit language policy as regards regional languages. We have some regional languages like Maithili, Newari and Tibetan having rich literary traditions and others without orthographies. Languages like Maithili, Newari and Tibetan should be taught at higher and university levels and regional language should be made the medium of education in primary level together with Nepali.

The government's language policy should be encouraging to the regional languages. This will help to bring the minority groups of people into the mainstream of national development.

3. Applied Linguistic Studies

The importance of Applied Linguistics in the field of education, in making it more effective and fruitful, is already felt in our country. But unfortunately Applied Linguistics has not been utilised in the right direction in the context of our country.

Nepal is a multilingual nation. Nepali is the medium of instruction at primary and secondary levels. Our school textbooks are not designed according to the multilingual situation of the country, nor have our teachers been trained to teach Nepali as a second language. Nothing has been done for other native languages like Maithili and Newari. To fill these gaps there should be an institute for language training, textbook and curriculum development, and research in education. We have Janak Shiksa Samagri Kendra, the Curriculum Development Centre and a research wing in the Institute of Education. In view of the limited resources and means of our country there should be one institute to comprehend all these functions. This institute could at the same time impart training to lexicographers and translators in a scientific manner. At the outset we can seek expert guidance in these matters from foreign countries.

I would like to believe that the suggestions incorporated above will be given due and timely consideration by government decision-makers, University authorities and people prominent in different walks of national life.

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DISCUSSION ON

LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES AND PRIORITIES IN NEPAL

by

Ballabh Mani Dahal

Contributor 1

Mr. Ananda Dev Bhatta

1. You say in your paper that nothing has been done for such languages as Maithili and Newari. What is the real meaning behind this?

2. You suggest that the three bodies concerned with linguistics-the Curriculum Development Centre, Janak Shiksa Samagri Kendra and the Institute of Education should be merged. Is it because separately they are too expensive, or because they are not co-ordinated? What is the reason for your suggestion?

Speaker's Reply

1. While saying that nothing has been done for such languages as Maithili and Newari it should be emphasised that nothing has been done for Nepali itself, even though it is spoken by 52% of the population. There is not a single modern grammar of Nepali nor any sort of technical dictionary, so that translators have to devise their own technical terms.

2. Yes, these bodies are not co-ordinated and sometimes work on the same problems in ignorance of what is being done in the other institutions. Furthermore, the field has to be widened to include lexicographers, translators and highly trained scholars and researchers.

Contributor 2

Mr. Ananda Dev Bhatta

You say that the Kathmandu dialect has been recognised as the so-called standard dialect of Nepali. How do you explain or define the Kathmandu dialect?

Contributor 3 Mr. Tara Nath Sharma

Do you think that the language used in literature and administration is the Kathmandu dialect? There is a general understanding that this standard Nepali is that which is spoken from Gorkha onwards towards the Eastern Region.

Speaker's Reply

If we examine traditional grammars, such as those of Somnath, Hemraj and Pushkar Samser, we find that the standard Nepali of these grammars, at both phonological and grammatical levels, is close to the dialect spoken in Kathmandu. Clark in his Introduction to Nepali and Maria Hari in her Tentative Systemic Organisation of Nepali Sentences also show that the written so-called standard Nepali is closest to the Kathmandu dialect.

I wish to emphasize that because there is no modern standard grammar and because there is no proper teaching of grammar in our educational institutions many different features have entered the so-called Kathmandu dialect e.g. (जानुस्,जानोस्,जानुहोस्,जानुहवस्) are all correct. I agree that Gandaki zone influences are present in this so-called standard Nepali. This is because great writers from that area, such as Bhanubhakta, contributed much to the standardisation of Nepali and the language of places like Pokhara, Palpa and Central Nepal have contributed to the "standard". In fact, apart from a few difference in pronunciation, the Nepali of Central Nepal is much the same as that of Kathmandu.

Contributor 4 Mr. Shivaraj Acharya

1. There is much talk about standardization, but what is it? Some people say it is the imposition of one dialect upon another. I would like to hear Dr. Dahal's version of standardisation.

2. In what sense are the grammars of such as Sharma, Pandey etc. traditional? In an article I examined how far these grammars were traditional and decided they are not traditional. But many participants have stressed the unscientific nature of these grammars and I would like to know what they mean.

Speaker's Reply

1. There are no very serious problems regarding standardisation in Nepali, as there are for many other languages. The question is in what dialect should text books be written, official documents prepared; what dialect should language learners have as a model.

In this sense we have to be slightly prescriptive; we have to fix a norm. For Nepali the norm has already been broken and we have to find a norm again.

2. The grammars you mention are traditional in the sense that they do not allow the language to speak for itself. A system is imposed from without instead of emerging from the language itself. For example, they teach that nouns are of five kinds, whereas in Nepali they may be fewer or more. A grammar of Nepali is needed which reveals the facts of the language rather than having a grammar imposed from Sanskrit or other traditional grammars.

Mr. Tara Nath Sharma

Contributor 5

I would like to question the use of the term "regional language". It is not the case that all inhabitants of a region speak a particular language. 'Regional language' refers to a language which is spoken by members of a community within a region or regions. I would like to suggest that instead of these language being called "regional" or "minority" languages they should be called languages of communities, since only Nepali is spoken by members of different communities and a so-called minority language is spoken by more or less only the members of one community.

Speaker's Reply

This would seem to be a somewhat dangerous way of looking at the question, since there is not the restriction you imply of these languages being spoken only by members of one community. For example, in Kathmandu some 25,000 'non-Newars' speak Newari as fluently as the Newars. There is, in other words, not a strict correlation between language and community. I would also choose to avoid using the term 'minority language' since, though practically speaking there may be many differences-social, cultural, class, political etc between speakers of these languages and Nepali, in theory all are equal and all languages also equal.

Mr. T.R. Kansakar

Contributor 6

Perhaps Miss Morton's terminology derived from the distinction between standard language and mother tongue is more acceptable than the term 'regional language'.

Speaker's Reply

I disagree with Mr Kansakar and Miss Morton. The term "standard language" in this context is confusing. Nepali itself is a mother tongue for many people and any mother tongue can have a standard dialect.

Contributor 7 Mr. Tara Nath Sharma

You suggest that it is necessary to simplify the spelling system of Nepali to make it adequate as a national language. This seems very doubtful. There are many languages e.g. English and French, which are highly developed international languages and which have a poor relationship between the spelling and pronunciation and which have never had their spelling 'simplified'. The more a language is used for literature and the greater the length of time it has been written down and used the more complicated its spelling becomes.

You remember how, as undergraduates in Benares, we started an innocent but vehement movement called the "Purist Movement' in an alarmed fear to remove the infiltrating Hindi and other foreign elements from the structure and vocabulary of Nepali. We succeeded to a certain extent and even those who were against our 'Purist Movement' started following our methods. But our attempt to simplify the spelling of Nepali failed.

Speaker's Reply

It is true that there was something gained from the 'Purist Movement', but now I am convinced that there are two things that cannot be 'pure': race and language. However, I do think that the writing and spelling system of Nepali can be simplified. It is true that English and French have unscientific spelling systems, but any informed native speaker, especially linguists, will agree that is bad.

In China there are attempts to simplify the orthography as there was in pre-Communist times. In India they tried and failed. But in many cases there has been success e.g. Russia, Holland.

Of course there are many obstacles in the way of bringing about simplifications - sentimental, political etc. In Nepal the Pundit tradition could be an obstacle. Pundit grammarians prescribe rules on items derived from Sanskrit in which they themselves are not necessarily competent. But these obstacles can be overcome if the concerned people co-operate, and the inconsistencies upon which Mr. Bandhu has thrown light in his paper can be removed.

Contributor 8 Mr. Shivaraj Acharya

Mr Bandhu said in his paper that the revision of orthography meant that the literature for following generations became unreadable. This is true for English but not true for Nepali. If Nepali orthography is revised there will be really no problem for those who know only the revised orthography to read such writers as Bhanubhakta, Sikharnath etc. So the questions of revising English orthography and Nepali orthography are quite different. There are really no problems in the way of revising Nepali orthography.

Contributor 9 Miss B. Morton

I am puzzled by the statement that Nepali should be a competent medium for instruction at the higher levels of education. If the language is not competent how do you make it so?.

Speaker's Reply

In this way I am not strictly descriptive. Every language is efficient in expression, but there are certain problems in the context of Nepal similar to many other countries of the developing nations where scientific and technical matters and concepts have been suddenly introduced which seem to require linguistic prescription.

Contributor 10 Mr. T.R. Kansakar

Dr. Dahal stressed that linguistics and linguistic research is essential for national development and this seems of utmost importance. Basic research is needed on the various languages and their use in given situations, besides dictionaries and translations.

In second or foreign language learning in Nepal contrastive studies of languages are needed to make available fundamental materials for language teaching. Dictionaries and translation are not adequate for this purpose. The bodies concerned with such matters are doing commendable work but they have neither the trained man-power nor the resources to do what is needed.

Excellent teaching materials in themselves are not enough, however. There has to be suitable training of the teachers to enable them to use the materials properly. And this training should not be sporadic. Regular training programmes should be given by linguistically sophisticated personnel. I am saying in other words that all the proposals of Dr. Dahal are necessary but from the point of view of language teaching which is of prime importance for national development in our multi-lingual situation, they have to be taken even further.

Speaker's Reply

The suggestion of contrastive linguistics and linguistic training for teachers is most welcome. It supplements my suggestions for text book writing, curriculum development and training etc.

Mr. T.R. Kansakar

Contributor 11

I have to disagree with Dr. Dahal when he says that the use of English is increasing and that there exists already a "sizable prestige-conscious, isolated cotery" "who use English and thereby minimise the role of the common language and the common people". The notion of English minimising indigenous languages seems to me to be false. The roles of English and indigenous languages are complementory. English is the international language of Nepal at present and as such is merely an auxiliary. This auxiliary status should be officially recognised. Its role is completely distinct and different from the role of any Nepalese language and there is no question of it dominating or minimising.

I do not know if the role of English is increasing or not. I suspect it is in view of the kinds of development taking place which require an international language: foreign trade, tourism, education etc. But even if it is increasing, still, its role is complementary and cannot interfere with indigenous language.

Speaker's Reply

I am not in any sense against English-nor any other language for that matter. There is no doubt that English is useful and essential for many aspects of development in Nepal, but its role must be defined. If it starts to dominate in areas of life where its use is unnecessary then it can undermine rather than encourage national development. This is why language planning is needed so badly. English has its role as an international language making possible for Nepal various kinds of important developments as mentioned by Mr. Kansakar. Nepali has another role as one of the most unifying factors of national integration and the two should not be confused. Equally, the other languages of Nepal have their role. It is vital at this stage that language policy should be planned so that the difficulties such as have appeared in other multilingual countries are avoided.

Contributor 12

Dr. D.P. Pattanayak

I would like to make a few observations before we adjourn. It is my personal view that wherever there are many languages life is so much richer and there need be no worry about the number of languages. If the whole world had only one language, if all people dressed alike, ate the same kind of food, life would be really dull. So, what we mean when we talk of multi-lingual planning is not replacing one language by another but defining the domains of use. On this there will be continuous debates and discussions.

Perhaps I should say something about these reforms because all over the world there are people jealous of reforms. Reforms are not done merely by preaching. For example, in the 1920's a Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji started a movement of romanisation. In 1970 somebody asked him: "Dr. Chatterji, half a century has passed. Have you tried to utilise the Roman script for Bengali?" He said: "The Bengalis will never accept it." Another example: As you know, Telegu and Kannada have the same script: there is only a difference of six letters. There have been many expert committee who have sat together, and passed resolutions that there should be one script. The governments have passed resolutions, but nobody has started printing in that script.

CLOSING ADDRESS

The Dean, Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma

Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies

Tribhuvan University

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman,

I was amazed by the tremendous response to this seminar which I didn't expect when we started four days ago. So, I thank you all for your active participation and I think this last session was no less remarkable than the previous ones. I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words that I have felt both as a Dean and personally. I would not like to call this a summing up because I am not qualified to do it, not being a linguist, and it would be too difficult since the papers presented covered such a wide-range of topics in Linguistics and were of such high scholarship.

The papers dealt with linguistics in many contexts - social and historical, South Asian and Nepalese, applied and theoretical. The intention of holding the present seminar was to bring Nepalese and foreign linguists together to enable them to share in each other's knowledge and experience, to review the state of linguistic research in Nepal and to review the language situation in Nepal and also to make suggestions for improving it further for the coming years. Ours is an institute concerned with Linguistics, among other disciplines, and in this capacity it would like to submit the outcome of the present deliberations to His Majesty's Government of Nepal for consideration and support. I think the seminar has succeeded in attaining at least some of these objectives if not all.

Linguistic research in Nepal suffers from three drawbacks in my opinion: Lack of well-trained linguists in field research techniques in adequate number, lack in experience and exposure to linguistic development in the outside world in the case of the few linguists that we have is part of the same problems and Dr. K.P. Malla voiced this concern in his paper on the first day. It will be extremely helpful, I think, if more experienced linguists at home and outside, foreigners and local ones, gave part of their energy in launching a training programme not only to young Nepali linguists but to more senior ones who also feel-handicapped in one way or another in doing their work effectively.

The second drawback, I think, is a lack of a central place for planning and co-ordinating linguistic studies and research. Only a small amount of linguistic research and studies are done at present and that also is scattered in various departments. INAS has wanted to play the role of a central agency for all linguistic research in Nepal but the present size of our faculty and monetary resources are both inadequate for doing it. The seminar, I believe, has felt an urgency for setting up a full-fledged linguistics department as soon as possible.

The Government has failed (this is the third problem) to utilise the university services for obtaining advice in planning and programming its language policies. Linguistics in the university can grow only when its utility is recognized. Only then can we hope to receive more money for spending on linguistic research, which alone would solve the bread-and-butter problem of its job in the end? It is all very well to talk about applied research in linguistics but the full import of this research in terms of resource-creation is indeed very great. The papers read in the seminar showed how linguistics can be harnessed in many productive ways to subserve development. Linguistics would be useful for planning language policies, conducting better literacy programmes and devising effective means in mass media, thus finding a linguistic approach to national integration. But we may do well to remember that this can only follow and not precede the creation of a linguistic infra-structure in the country. We cannot dispense with the teaching of linguistics and some amount of indulgence in academic research before adapting this knowledge to applied fields.

Dr. Dahal's paper underscores the need for directing linguistic studies in Nepal and covers several important areas. One of them is the linguistic survey of Nepal. Conducting such a survey is basic to obtaining a correct linguistic picture of a country. No wise and long-term policy can be made in the absence of such a knowledge. What are we going to call a work like this? An academic exercise or an applied project? The cost of carrying out such a project will not be small. To avoid a financial burden on the Government or the University a programme must be phased. But investments have to be patterned to achieving this goal right from the beginning. There are other projects the Institute has prepared and to which Dr. Dahal has alluded in his paper. They can serve many useful areas in the country's present needs. One such project is the preparation of technical vocabulary in Nepali. But our scheme of priorities and readiness to do things is not matched by the government's willingness to finance such projects always and the present administrative approach to such issues may not be the satisfactory answer in the future.

Lastly, I would like to make a personal observation regarding the language situation obtaining in Nepal. Nepali rose to occupy the present position in Nepal through a historical process. Maintenance of Nepali in that position is necessary for maintaining national unity and integration. The multi-lingual situation of India is not comparable with the multi-lingual situation of Nepal in all regards calling for an identical approach to policy formulation. India, consisting of many states larger in size and population than Nepal, has a great many recognised national languages. It is unthinkable to give minority languages in Nepal a similar status, making Nepal a nation of many languages in the same way as India has done. This is neither warranted by the size of the country nor by the historical development of its minority languages. Nevertheless, any language policy in Nepal should not aim rashly at the total destruction of these languages for advancing the cause of Nepali. The right to learn a minority language in primary or secondary grades or even higher up in school should not be denied to those for whom it is a mother tongue and a chance should be given to the more developed languages to play creative roles in our society. With these words, I conclude my remarks.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SEMINAR

D.P. Pattanayak

Since this is the concluding session I would like to take the opportunity to express my feelings about this conference. It has been an amazingly successful conference where all of you have participated so fully. I have been really most impressed and it has been very educative for me and my colleagues. We have learnt quite a lot about Nepalese and the language situation in Nepal. And I certainly commend the various proposals made by the Dean, Dr. Malla, Dr. Dahal, Dr. Subba and all those who put forward a number of sensible proposals. Considering programmes, a wonderful programme has been set up and we all hope the Government will work on it. But I have a suggestion. I hope you'll take early steps to set up a linguistic society of Nepal. I hope also that this seminar will not be the end but that more and more of this kind of seminar will take place. It should be open, not only to students of linguistics, but to the students of language also because, as I hinted on the first day, I think it is time that we took language students with us and perhaps some of you who are linguists will start working on stylistics and / or linguistics bearing on literature.

Now, before I leave it would be most appropriate if I express my sentiment and the sentiments of my colleagues: how immensely we have enjoyed our stay and participation in this seminar! It has really been a co-operative seminar. As you know, our fare was paid by the Indian Council of Social Sciences and our hospitality was taken care of by the Dean and the University. So, I think it would be most appropriate to express our sincere thanks to Vice-Chancellor Shakya and Dean Sharma and the rest of the people who have provided hospitality, and to all of you participants who have had discussions with us outside the seminar and made our stay enjoyable. Last, but not least, my thanksgiving would be incomplete if, on behalf of me and my friends, I did not thank Mrs. Friedman who has done so much for making our stay here really memorable for us. Thank you.

VOTE OF THANKS

Subhadra Subba

INAS

Looking at the number of participants here who have been present over the four full days of the seminar, and having heard the papers and discussions, all of which have been of remarkable quality, I can only repeat what has already been said - that this has been a most sucessful seminar. As Dr. Pattanayak mentioned, our seminar has been the first step from groping in the dark to reaching a stage of selfconfidence.

Now I come to the pleasant task of giving thanks to the many people who have helped to make our seminar a success.

Firstly, we want to thank the Hon'ble Minister and the Vice-Chancellor for sparing us time to be with us on the first day. Secondly, we want to thank the ICSSR for the travel grants they generously gave us so that we could have with us the distinguished linguists from India who have added not only extra weight to the seminar but extra grace also.

We want to thank SIL for all their active co-operation for all our linguistic activities and more so for the lovely tea they provided on the first day and the transport for bringing our participants to and from the Seminar.

We want to thank ICM for their kindness in giving such a fine reception.

We want to thank Dr. Suryalal Amatya, the Campus Chief of the Humanities and Social Sciences Institute for allowing all the four language departments, the staff and students, to attend the Seminar and giving us many facilities.

We want to thank the Director, CEDA for this Auditorium.

We want to thank the Institute staff - Mr. Rana, Mr. Pandey, Mr. Adhikari and all the Junior staff - Kuldarshan, Thapa, Indraman, Hareram - for working so hard to organise this seminar successfully and for getting all the papers ready on time.

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We want to thank our Dean, Dr. Sharma for his eager participation and support. We all know that if Dr. Sharma had said 'No' this seminar would not have taken place. He has given us his enthusiastic support and his co-operation.

Lastly, we want to thank the participants for their active and healthy participation. We enjoyed having you all these four days and we look forward to meeting you again. Please note that INAS is ready always for any co-operation and any suggestions.

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